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Sachivothama Syr C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E., LL. D., Dewan of Travancore

SOUVENIR
OF THE
Sashtiabdapurthi
OF
Sachivothama
Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar
K. C. I. E., LL. D.
Dewan of Travancore

By

A. PADMANABHA IYER,

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Author of "The Viceregal Visit to Travancore, 1933; Being an Official Account of the Tour of His Excellency Lord Willingdon the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and of Her Excellency the Countess of Willingdon";

"Modern Mysore;" "Hyderabad Today;" and also of INDIAN STATES SERIES & INDIAN PRIME MINISTERS SERIES, etc.

TRIVANDRUM :

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1940

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DEDICATED,
BY KIND AND GRACIOUS PERMISSION
TO
HIS HIGHNESS
SRI PADMANABHA DASA
VANCHI PALA
SIR

BALA RAMA VARMA

KULASEKHARA KIRITAPATI
MANNEY SULTAN
MAHARAJA RAJA
RAMARAJA BAHADUR SHAMSHER JANG
KNIGHT GRAND COMMANDER
OF THE MOST EMINENT ORDER OF THE
INDIAN EMPIRE
D LITT

MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE

WHOSE
HIGH-SOULED PATRIOTISM AND
BENEVOLENT STATESMANSHIP AND SWEETNESS OF PERSONAL CHARM
HAVE RAISED THE STATUS OF TRAVANCORE AND
HAVE GIVEN IT A NOTABLE PLACE IN
THE POLITICAL MAP OF
INDIA;

WHOSE
EXEMPLARY PIETY, LONG VISION
AND ABIDING FAITH AS DEFENDER OF HINDUISM
HAVE SECURED FOR HIS HIGHNESS THE COVETED
APPELLATION OF LIBERATOR OF THE LOWLY
AND THE OPPRESSED AND HAVE EARNED
FOR HIS ROYAL HOUSE A NAME
FAME WHICH WILL GO
DOWN TO
POSTERITY;

WHOSE
GLORIOUS REIGN OF
PEACE, PROSPERITY AND PLENTY IS
RECKONED AS **GOLDEN AGE** IN THE HISTORY OF
TRAVANCORE;

BY

His Gracious Highness' Humble, Devoted and Loyal Subject and Servant
THE AUTHOR



The Author

P R E F A C E .

The circumstances under which this book is published require a word of explanation. It is rarely that the people of the State are given the opportunity of celebrating the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of their Dewan. During the past sixty years there have been fourteen Dewans, but only two have celebrated their *Sashtiabdapurthi*. Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is, therefore, the third Dewan whose *Sashtiabdapurthi* was celebrated. The event was on that ground a rare and unique one. It naturally evoke great interest. It struck me that the sincerity, spontaneity and enthusiasm which characterised the State-wide celebration would justify a permanent record. I, therefore, approached the Dewan with a request that I might be permitted to chronicle this important and unique event in the State. He had his own hesitation in complying with any request. He was of the view that it was a purely personal matter and doubted whether it was such a matter of public importance as to be chronicled in a permanent form. On my pressing the question and explaining to him that it was an event which aroused unprecedented interest and enthusiasm everywhere—in towns and villages, among all classes and communities—he agreed to comply with my request.

When I entered on my task, I found that there were many difficulties. In the first place, there were several gaps for a full and succinct account. Again, I had my own doubts as to whether I could produce such an account as would give room for

no complaints about certain parties or sections of people or particular interests being ignored, or not being treated with sufficient importance, because the omissions were so many and so striking. I decided to correspond with several individuals, organisations and agencies for copies of Addresses or other expressions of congratulations or notes of celebrations conducted or organised by them. The records of even the Dewan's speeches were not complete, because no one had any pre-conceived plan or idea of publishing an account. However, the replies I received were very encouraging and indicated that there was a demand for such a publication. I am much obliged to various persons and organisations who were good enough to supply me with copies of Addresses which were presented to the Dewan and also for other information. Mr. S. Chidambaram, Private Secretary to the Dewan, very kindly placed at my disposal the necessary papers relating to the subject and also a collection of Addresses and Speeches. He was of considerable help to me as a general guide in all matters of details and furnished me with information wherever necessary. As regards most of the Speeches of the Dewan, Mr. Chidambaram very readily obliged me with copies. I cannot be sufficiently grateful to him for the help rendered. The Dewan has been good enough to go through the proof relating to his personal history and public career in British India. I can never repay this overwhelming kindness and generous help I was fortunate enough to get from the Dewan. To the Chief Secretary, Mr. M. K. Nilakanta Aiyar, B. A., B. L., I am much beholden in a variety of ways. He has ever been ready and willing to clear my doubts and also furnish information in connection with the *Vaidikik* ceremonies and generally other points of importance. I would not have been able to deal with certain Chapters but for his help and for the tips he gave me.

Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhurandhara V. S. Subrahmanyai Aiyar, B. A., B. L., retired Dewan, has been very obliging in supplying me with summaries of speeches he made and also for information on other matters of importance connected with the celebration, as he had an active part in most of them. I cannot be sufficiently grateful to him for the help I have received from him; Mr. K. N. Ramanathan, B. A., Manager, Reuters & the Associated Press of India, Trivandrum, was good enough to place at my disposal the newspaper files in his office from which I was able to gain much useful information about accounts of celebrations and also summaries of some important speeches made. The Director of Information also deserves thanks for the information supplied by him. Thus, it will be seen that every endeavour has been made to obtain accurate information as far as possible.

When the printing of the book had advanced and made good progress, it struck me that the publication of a few select papers from the learned and valuable writings of Sir C. P. Rama-swami Aiyar would be a useful addition to the book. I have, therefore, availed myself of this opportunity to reprint four of these papers with his permission, as they seemed to me to be important from the point of view of contemporary interest. They reveal a sense of passionate nationalism and fervid patriotism which ought to inspire the youth of the land with a desire to work for their motherland in a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-discipline without which no great task is possible of achievement. This is published as Part II. An Index to this Part is also added.

The A. R. V. Press, Fort, Trivandrum, has been responsible not only for printing the book but also for printing the blocks and for the general get-up. The blocks were made by

the Bangalore Press which has an established reputation in this line. In regard to some photos there was great difficulty in getting a clear picture for the reason that these photographs were taken in Mofussil stations where one cannot expect a satisfactory photographer. The best had to be made out of the materials available. The Bangalore Press deserves credit for what they have done.

Karamanai, Trivandrum, }
May, 1940. }

A. Padmanabha Iyer,
Journalist

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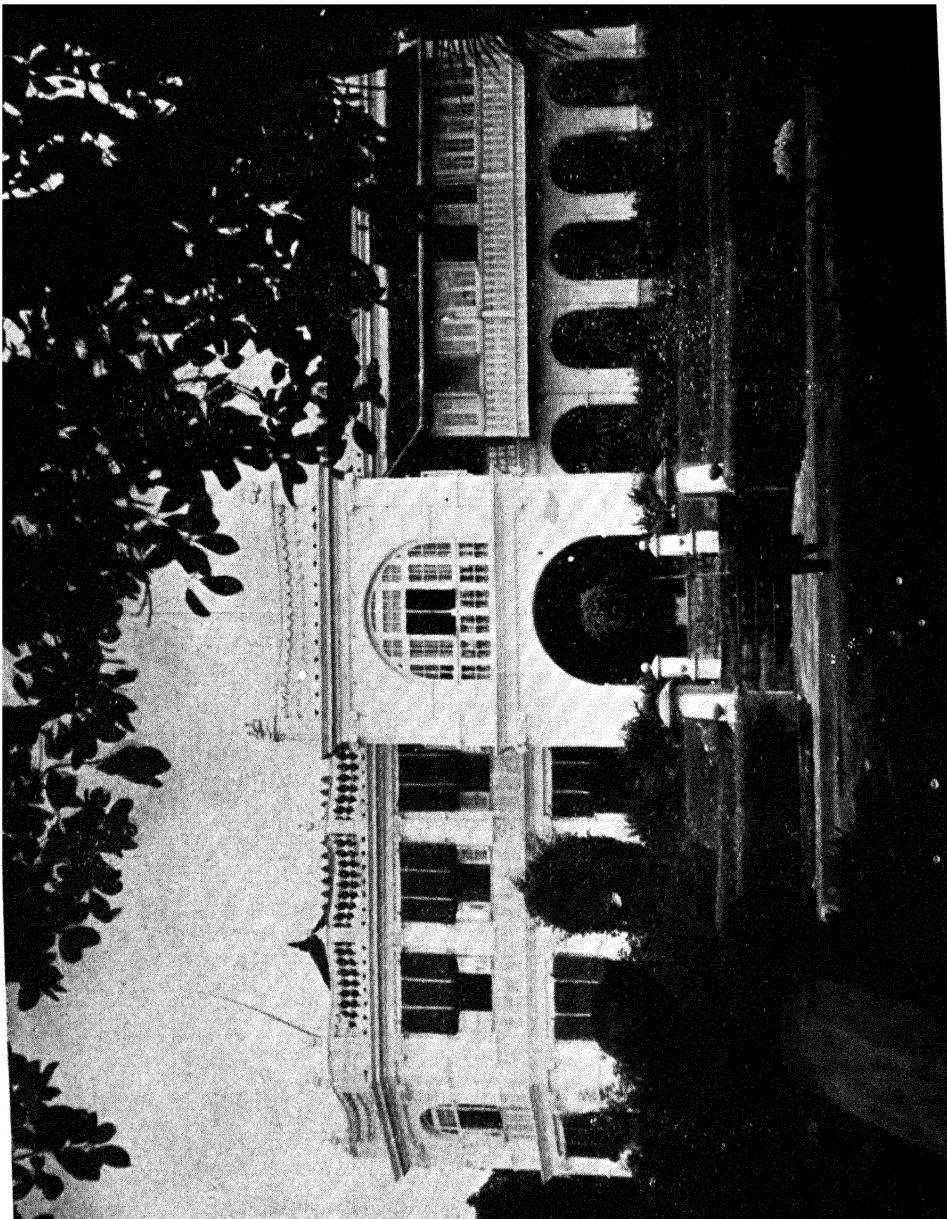
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Bhaktivilas, the official residence of the Dewan

CHAPTER I

Sachivothama

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar

K. C. I. E., LL. D.

A Brief Sketch.

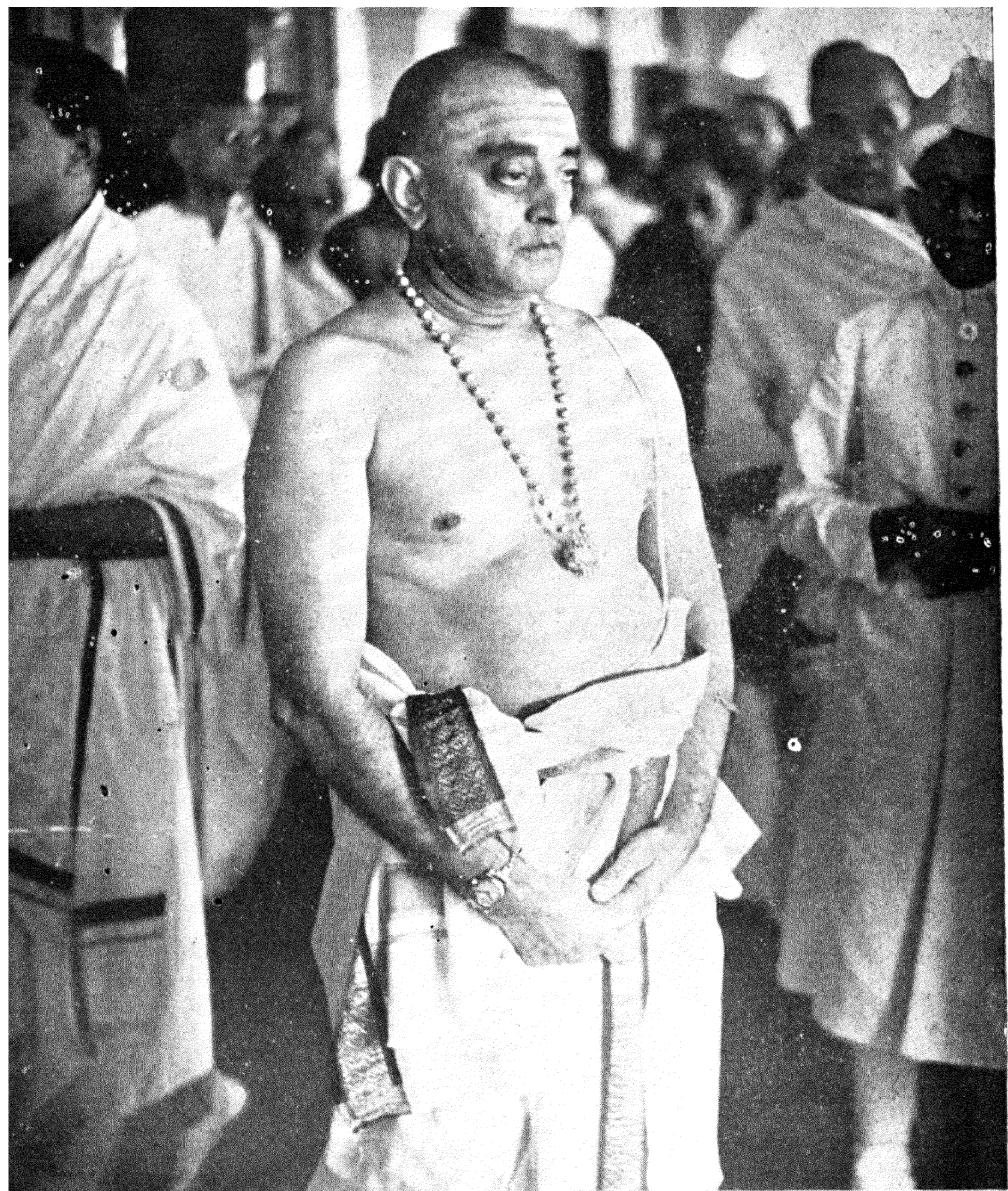
To attempt a life sketch of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar—however brief it may be—is a difficult task. In the first place, his career has been crowded with such great and far-reaching events, such vast and varied problems of India-wide, nay, world-wide importance that the range one has to cover is an extensive one including all activities of human interest and importance. It is, therefore, possible only to outline in a broad manner the main lines of his remarkable activities.

Birth and Parentage.

He was born at Wandiwash on 12th November, 1879 of a family saturated with law and legal administration—men who had in their time made a name for themselves whether as practising lawyers or as judicial officers of considerable reputation. His father was the late Mr. C. R. Pattabhirama Aiyar who was a well known member of the Bar at Tanjore and later on in Madras. His legal talents and standing in the profession drew the attention of Government and he was offered the post of a Judge of the City Civil Court in Madras. He accepted the post and in a few years won the confidence of both the Government and the litigant public by his impartial administration of justice.

Early Education and Career.

Young Ramaswamy received his early education in the Wesleyan Mission High School, Madras, and later on joined the Presidency College from which he graduated at the early age of 19, winning several prizes and medals. The Collegiate career of this "prize" boy, as he was called, was so remarkable that every one of his Professors prophesied for him a distinguished career in life. Having taken a very high place in the University pass list, he turned to the study of law and joined the Law College, Madras. There too he easily won distinction and passed his B. L. Degree. In 1903 he was enrolled as an apprentice under that "Lion" of the Madras Bar, the late Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, who later on was elevated to the high position of a Member of the Madras Executive Council. In a few years Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar rose to a high position in the Bar, his work being mostly on the original side. He commanded an extensive practice and soon reached the top. It was about this time (1911) that, having assured himself of his eminent position in the Bar, he stood for election as a member of the Senate of the Madras University. It is within the knowledge of the writer of this sketch that, when the late Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E., was approached for his vote, he remarked that the young man was bound to make his mark in the public life of the country. Later events have proved how correct was this prophecy. Even as regards highly gifted persons, it is said that circumstances make the man and that was so in the case of Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar too. This fillip to his future fame as a lawyer of all-India eminence was supplied by the well known Krishnamurthi case which may be taken as an important landmark in his future career as a lawyer. It not only opened out a new avenue for him in that he was after that time engaged in almost all important



The Dewan waiting for the arrival of His Highness the Maharaja

and sensational cases in the Madras High Court, but also secured for him the admiration and friendship of Dr. Besant through whom Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyar gained many cultured and influential friends in England and other foreign countries.

Honoured by Government.

By this time Mr. Ramaswamy had attained his right place in the Bar. The Government of Madras had marked him for preference in the service. He was, therefore, offered the high and coveted post of Advocate-General to the Madras Government. He accepted the place in 1920, which was only a stepping stone to higher honours. For, two years later, he was appointed Law Member and in 1925 he became Vice-President of the Madras Executive Council. Higher positions under Government, while affording greater and wider opportunities for service, also create critical situations which make or mar men. It was under such trying circumstances that, as Member in charge of Irrigation and Public Works, the two well known schemes of Mettur and Pykara had to be disposed of by him, schemes which eluded the statesmanship and practical wisdom of several of his predecessors in service and which Sir. C. P. carried out with courage in his hands and solved them to the lasting benefit of the peasant population. The marvellous successes which followed the completion of these two projects have convinced the world of the long vision, great far-sightedness and high imagination which form the keystone of his statesmanship and patriotism. Soon after this he was made a K. C. I. E. in 1925. Though he relinquished his high office under the Government of Madras and reverted to the Bar, he was not allowed to have his own way, for the call came from the Government of India and he was appointed in 1931 and 1932 for brief periods as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of Law and

Commerce. Another testimony to his all-round capacity and varied talents was his being made by the Government of India a Member of the Government of India Committee on Secretariat Procedure in 1935. He had a prominent voice in the shaping of the recommendations of this Committee.

A Pillar of the Indian Empire.

By this time, the subject of this sketch had come to be regarded practically as a pillar of the Indian Empire. Evidently, his vast and varied experience as a successful administrator and his position as the unquestioned leader of the Bar in Madras, had awakened the Home Government and the Government of India to a recognition of his eminence as a lawyer as well as his proved capacity as a counsellor on other administrative problems. His services were sought as a member of several Committees created for the solution of problems calculated to advance the prosperity and happiness of the people. He was first invited to give evidence before the Southborough Commission on Indian Reforms. He was later on made a member of the War Conference which assembled at New Delhi where he made very useful suggestions and he was reckoned as a very helpful member. Then came the Weston Committee on Finance at whose invitation he gave evidence. On all these Committees he made himself heard and his opinions commanded respect. His individuality was felt everywhere on the solution of the problems that came up for consideration. It is well known and an oft-quoted fact that Mr. Edwin Montague, the Secretary of State for India, entertained high regard for Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar. When he and Lord Chelmsford were touring in India in connection with Indian Reforms, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar was one of those invited to give evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Commission. It was on that occasion that Mr. Montague recorded the



The Dewan at the Temple of Sri Padmanabha Swami

observation that "C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar was one of the cleverest men" he had met in India. In 1919 he gave evidence in London before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms. He was then selected as a member of the Committee to frame Rules under the 1919 Reforms Act. That the Home Government were well impressed with the outstanding abilities of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar is evident from another circumstance. When the question of Indian Reforms was again taken up in 1931, this eminent son of India was not forgotten. He was nominated a Delegate to the Indian Round Table Conference and also a member of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference. He served on the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference also. In 1933 he was appointed as a member of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Reforms. It is of interest to note here that in 1926 the state of International politics demanded his service. For, both in that year and in 1927 the Government of India requisitioned his services and sent him to the League of Nations as the representative of India and was subsequently deputed to the League of Nations as Rapporteur to the League of Nations Committee on Public Health. When the Government of India decided to send a representative to London to the World Economic Conference, the choice fell on Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar who was the Indian Delegate.

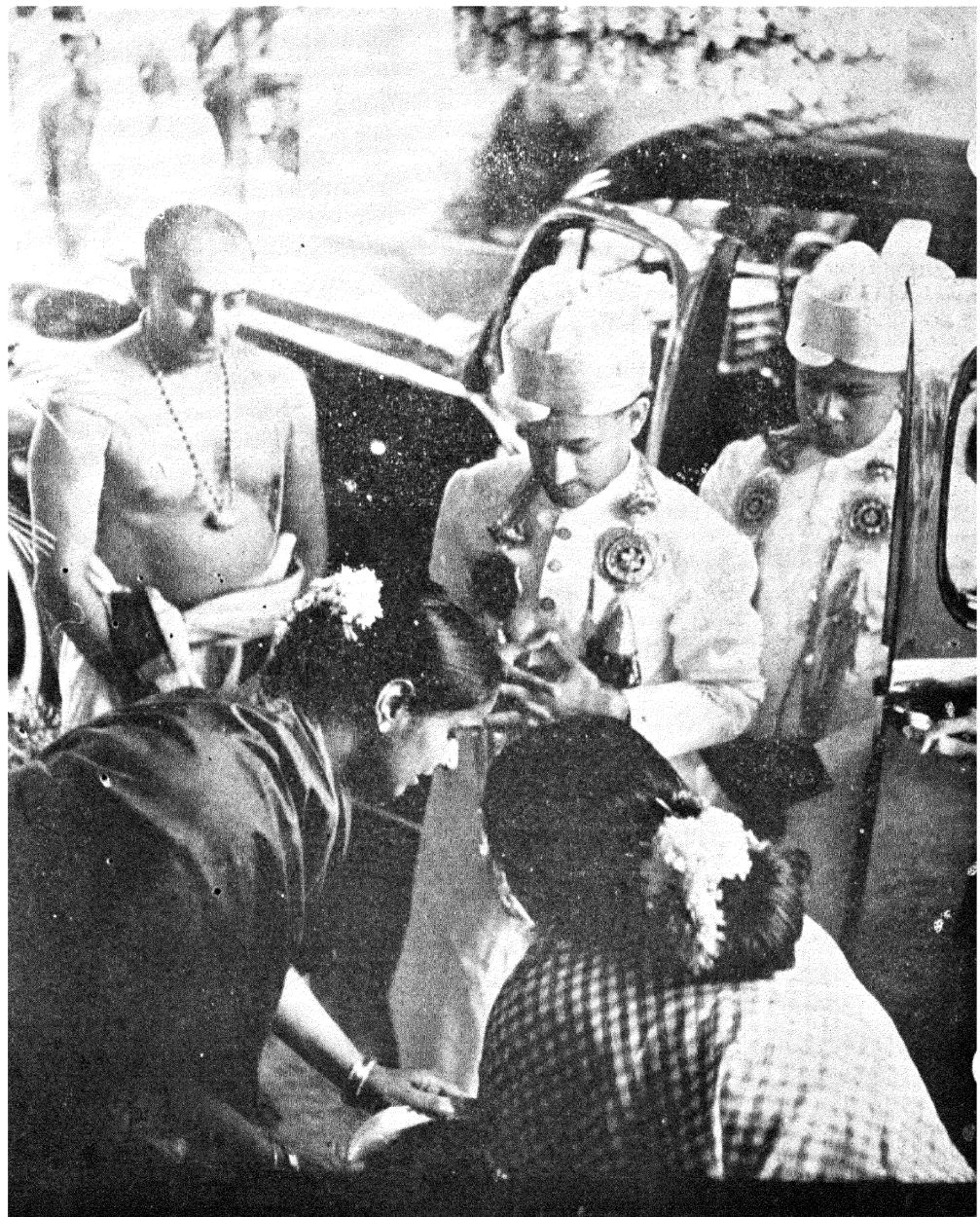
Severance from the Indian National Congress.

As so aptly observed by Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry at the foundation laying ceremony of the Memorial Satrom near the Railway Station, the active spirit of Sir C. P. could never be repressed. Though he had enough work as a practising lawyer, judged from the ordinary point of view and under normal conditions of human activities, he never rest contented. He was determined

to participate in the political agitation which reached rather an acute stage in Madras. Civic affairs were equally in an agitated state and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar thought that that was the time for his restless spirit and virile activity. He had already become in 1911 a member of the Madras Corporation and also an active member of the Indian National Congress. The amount of earnestness and enthusiasm he displayed in the cause of the Congress was such that in 1917 he was elected as one of its General Secretaries. It was about that time that the Indian National Congress began to be dominated by extremist elements which gained influence. In spite of his best efforts to bring about peaceful working and a compromise among the two parties, he did not succeed and he thought it was better for him to retire temporarily from the politics of the Indian National Congress. Even then he found that there were other fields which afforded opportunities for loyal service to promote the cause of India. After abandoning Congress politics he found the school of politics of Mrs. Annie Besant perfectly agreeable to his ideas and temperament. He, therefore, became a Home Ruler and threw in his lot with Mrs. Besant. He did a good deal of work under the banner of Mrs. Besant. There also he could not pull on well with Mrs. Besant and so he retired from active politics in British India.

Adviser to Indian States.

He toured in Indian States on special invitation and established connection with them. It is worthy of note that Travancore was the first State in all India which requisitioned his services. That was in connection with an off-shoot of the Ashe murder case. His services were retained when a very important side issue was engaging the attention of the Madras High Court. It was in 1912 during the time of the late



His Highness the Maharaja welcomed with the ceremony of *Mangalavarathi*

Sri Mulam Thirunal. The able manner in which he carried out the delicate commission evoked appreciation from His Highness. It led to another important brief for him, but this time in his capacity as Advocate-General. In Travancore the management of temples had for a long time been merged with the ordinary Land Revenue Department. On account of this fact only caste Hindus were employed in the Land Revenue Department, as it is the subordinate members of the Land Revenue Department who were managing the Devaswams and admission to these Devaswams or temples was confined to caste Hindus alone. Thus there was a bar against non-Hindus and non-caste Hindus being employed in the Land Revenue Department which led to considerable agitation and heart-burning. What was asked for by the non-Hindu and non-caste Hindus was the separation of the Devaswam from the Land Revenue Department, which alone, it was contended, would enable a large section of His Highness the Maharaja's subjects being admitted into the plum of the service. Before effecting separation of the Devaswam from the Land Revenue Department there were some outstanding questions of legal importance which were referred to Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar. His opinion helped the State to solve the problem without its prestige as a Hindu State being affected. The Devaswams also suffered no loss or dignity. It was on those lines that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar helped the State. From that time he was consulted on various occasions on many matters of considerable importance and on every one of those opportunities His Highness the late Sri Mulam Thirunal Maharaja found Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar highly useful and trustworthy. The next State that sought his services was Cochin. In 1928 Cochin was in need of a competent representative in connection with the Butler Enquiry Committee. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar was chosen to represent Cochin. The result was

highly satisfactory. After the deliberations of the Butler Enquiry Committee were over, a Sub-Committee was appointed in 1930 to draft a constitution for bringing out better and more cordial relations between British India and the Indian States. That was the first step towards the idea of Federation of Indian States. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar was made a member of this Committee. In the year 1931 when His Highness the Maharaja was invested with Ruling powers, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar was appointed Legal and Constitutional Adviser. In announcing the new appointment His Highness the Maharaja described Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar "as a trusted friend of my family". The investiture boon which was announced by His Highness, namely, the Constitutional Reforms, would not have been possible but for the assiduous and continuous help rendered by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, who was then behind the scene as Legal and Constitutional Adviser to His Highness the Maharaja. The system of bicameral legislature then initiated is now the current coin in the State. The original way in which this bicameral legislature was framed by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar for Travancore is being adopted by other States now. Since then this legislature has been working in Travancore for the past seven years with success. It was this reform which evoked from His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the late Viceroy, the following encomium. In laying the foundation stone of the new Council Chambers building in December, 1933, His Excellency observed thus:—

"Travancore has, in the matter of constitutional reforms, always moved in the van of progress. This scheme of constitutional reforms has anticipated the larger Reform Scheme for the whole of India which has been engaging the active and earnest consideration of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India for some years".

Under this scheme Travancore has the largest measure of representative Government among the Indian States. Since then Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar has, on special invitation, drafted



Malayala and other Brahmins at Japam

Constitutional Reforms for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Gwalior, Bikanir and a few other States. In March 1933 there was a special session of the Chamber of Princes held in New Delhi under the presidency of His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy and Governor General of India, to discuss the White Paper on Indian Reforms, with special reference to the scheme of Federation of Indian States. In connection with the deliberations of that momentous session, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was elected by the Princes as the Chairman of the Committee which was appointed to consider the White Paper.

As an Educationist.

It is rarely that a high class administrator and statesman gets opportunities to study educational problems in all their details and becomes thoroughly acquainted with their bearing on the practical side. But Sir C. P. is an exception. He was a very active and enthusiastic member of the Senate and Syndicate of the Madras University when he was a practising lawyer in Madras and was able to gain inner knowledge of the working of the educational system and the defects. The various discussions in which he took part reveal the wealth of information he had and the soundness of his suggestions on various topics connected with this problem. He was also a Trustee for several years of the Pachaiyappa's Educational institutions and took great and personal interest in the promotion of Technical and Professional education. His high proficiency in history and economics and his general culture were taken advantage of by several Universities in India and also by certain Foundations. In 1928 he was invited by the Mysore University to deliver the annual lectures under the Sri Krishnarajendra Foundation and in 1932 he was invited by the Calcutta University to deliver the Tagore Lectures. In the same year he was invited by the new University of Delhi



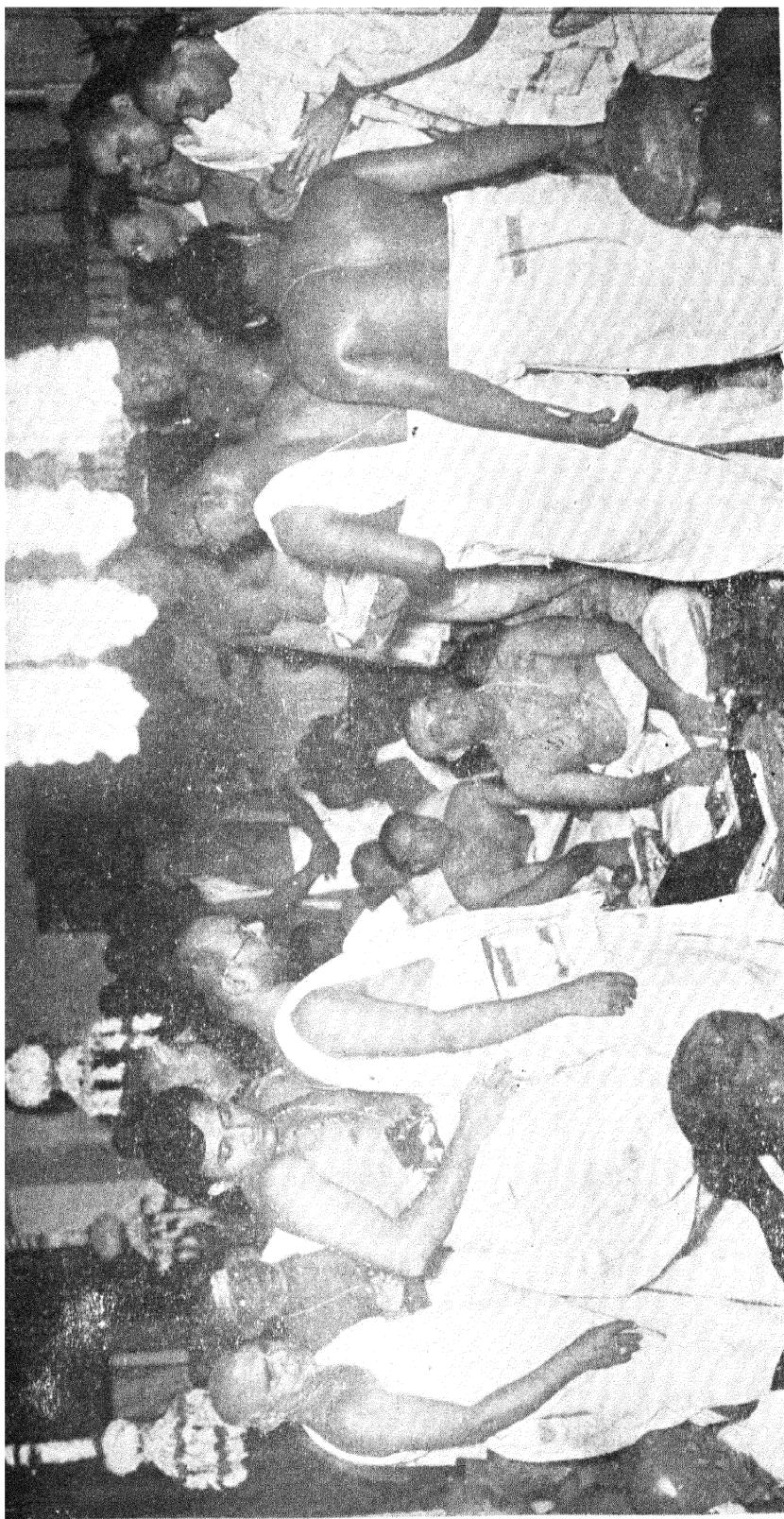
Malayala Brahmins at Japam

CHAPTER II

The Ceremony.

Its Significance and Celebration.

According to the science of Astrology man's complete life consists of 120 years. Considered from this point of view completion of sixty years is the stage when he reaches the zenith of his life in this mundane sphere. It is, therefore, rightly described as "the apex of the middle arch in the span of human life. " *Sashtiabdpurthi* is composed of three words, *Sashti* meaning Sixty, *Abda* year and *Purthi* signifying completion. According to Western conception also the attainment of sixty years is an important landmark in one's life. Even in any of the Hindu texts no special significance is attached beyond the conception of this idea. As every stage in the life of a Hindu is marked by certain limitations which are interpreted by religious ceremonies and rituals, the attainment of sixty years is signalised by the performance of *Santi* which simply means purification—both bodily as well as spiritual. This is the object of *Santi*, whether it is performed on a small or big scale. It is a commonly understood principle of Medical Science and the Laws of Public Health that human body ceases to grow from the completion of 60 years of age and in average cases deterioration begins from this stage. Though this ceremony is not prescribed as compulsory, much importance has come to be given to it by Hindus of the middle class who celebrate the event, each according to his or her means.



The Dewan and the Vaidies

Unique Event.

During the past sixty years there have been fourteen Dewans of the State. Only two Dewans have had the privilege and good fortune to celebrate this auspicious event when holding this high office. They were The Hon'ble V. Rama Iyengar C. S. I. (1880-1885) and S. Shungrasubhyier C. I. E. (1892-1898). It will thus be seen that a Dewan's *Sashtiabdapurthi* is a rare event. On this ground the people of the State were looking forward for the celebration of the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E., LL. D., the Dewan. The fact that the birthday of the Dewan falls on the next day of that of His Highness the Maharaja added to the interest of this rare and unique event.

State-wide Celebration.

Trivandrum, the capital city, was the first to give the lead in the matter of celebrating it. In pursuance of a numerously signed manifesto containing the names of the prominent inhabitants of the State a public meeting was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall on the 6th September and was presided over by Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhuandra, V. S. Subrahmanya Iyer B. A., B. L., the Retired Dewan of Travancore. The resolution passed at this meeting was to the effect that the auspicious event should be celebrated in a fitting manner, that an Address from the people of Travancore should be presented to the Dewan and that a Garden Party should also be held in honour of the event. Similar meetings were held in several moffusil stations in the State by the different classes and communities and by the important representative bodies and Associations in the State. The Nair Service Society, the accredited organ of the Nair community, held a separate meeting and passed suitable resolutions, while its subsidiary bodies like the Kara Yogams, about 1,200 in number, also passed resolutions felicitating the Dewan on the

completion of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* and placing on record their grateful appreciation of his memorable services to the State.

Enthusiasm of Christians.

The Christian community was no less enthusiastic. The different denominations vied with one another in showing their regard and respect for him. Such denominations as the Catholics, Mar Thoma, Malankara Orthodox Jacobites, South Indian United Church, etc., joined the movement whole-heartedly. The Roman Catholics in Trivandrum under the banner of their Bishop, The Right Rev. Dr. Vincent Dereere, held a public meeting. In addition to this, the Bishop issued a pastoral enjoining on the members of his flock the desirability of celebrating the event in a becoming manner. It was stated in this pastoral that on November 9 the joy bell should be rung and that the next day (the *Sashtiabdapurthi* Day) a solemn *Te Deum* should be sung after Holy Mass at the Cathedral Chuch in Trivandrum, prayers being offered in all the churches in the Diocese the next day, i. e., Sunday. The pastoral went on;—

“ As loyal subjects of His Highness the Maharaja we are in duty bound to honour His Highness' able and devoted Minister, Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, and to congratulate him on the occasion of the celebration of his *Sashtiabdapurthi*.

We are glad to record here with great appreciation the valuable services rendered by the Dewan to His Highness the Maharaja. His vast experience, diplomatic skill and administrative ability have greatly helped to bring Travancore to the forefront among Indian States. Let us avail ourselves of this solemn occasion to express our gratitude to the Dewan and pray God to grant him light and strength to continue successfully to help His Highness our beloved Maharaja in the administration of the State”.

The Muslims held public meetings in various centres and passed resolutions containing similar sentiments of public rejoicings and loyal demonstrations. Such minor communities as the Coast Christians, Harijans, etc., also had similar demonstrations of joy held in the different parts of the State under

their respective leaders. Each community claimed the Dewan as its own protector and friend. One remarkable feature of the celebration was the spontaneity which marked the movement to honour the Dewan and it may be unhesitatingly averred that on no previous occasion has the whole State, irrespective of caste or creed, bestirred itself so enthusiastically to honour its Dewan. It was in the midst of such unerring indications of a people's rejoicings that the event was ushered in.

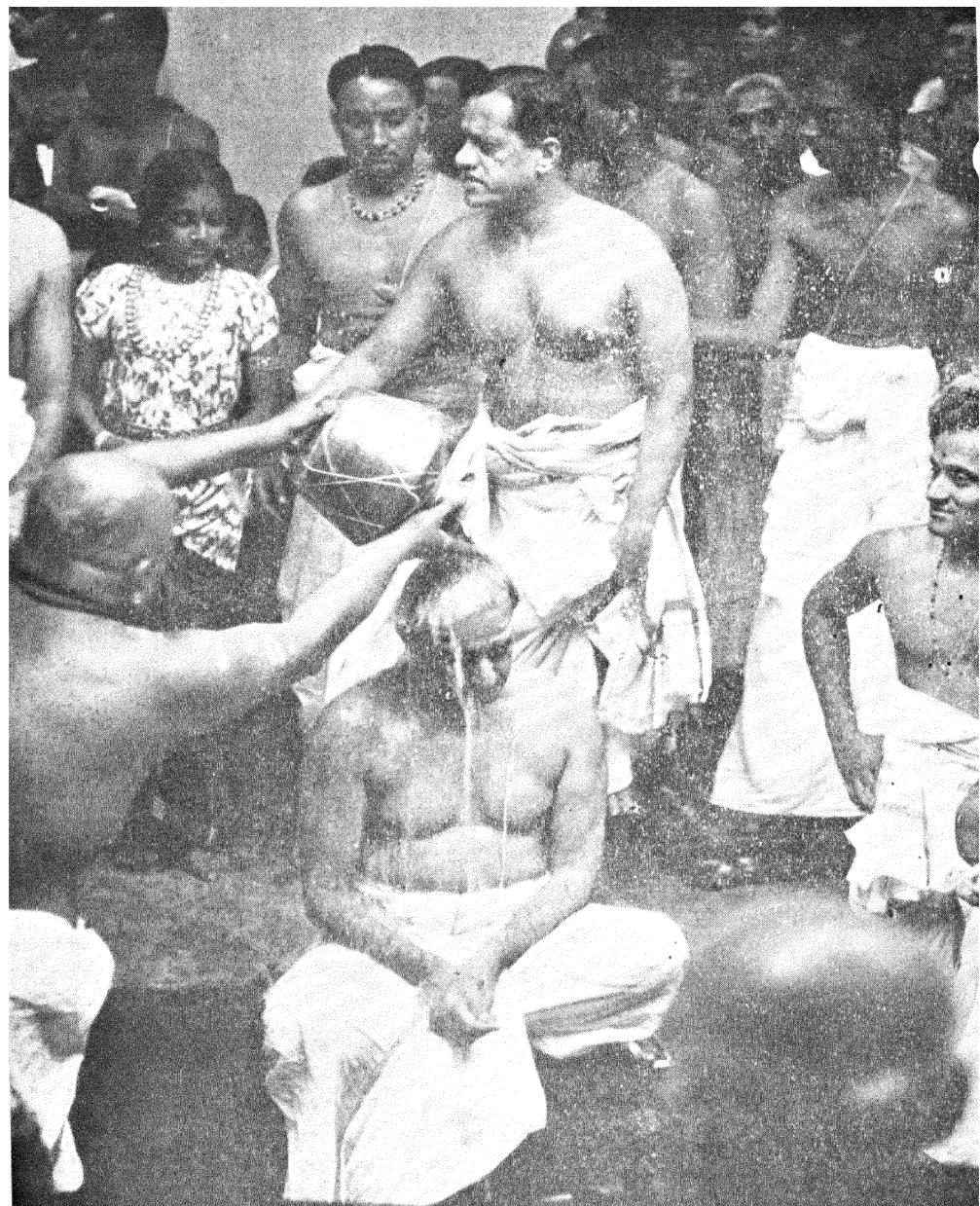
Bhakthivilas : Power House of Spirituality.

Coming to the day of celebration, it has to be said at the outset that Bhakthivilas, the official residence of the Dewan, was *en fete* with decorations of every kind. Arches, festoons, flags and greenery of all descriptions attracted the attention of the visitors. Special Pandals erected and magnificently decorated under command of His Highness the Maharaja provided ample and comfortable accommodation for the hundreds of invited guests. While these temporary buildings were spectacular in their effect, the main Bungalow was converted into a power-house of religiousness and spirituality. The day dawned from an early hour for the Vaidik ceremonies to commence. Long rows of *Japakkars* (reciters of *Japam*) divided into several groups were seen busily engaged in their spiritual task which imparted to the whole atmosphere a tempo of religiousness and spirituality the solemnity of which could be felt only by those piously inclined. The main items of religious ceremonies were (1) *Maha Rudra Japam*, (2) *Dhara Homam*, (3) *Santi Japam*, (4) *Santi Homam* and (5) *Ayushya Homam*. What is done is to keep in the middle of each group of *Japakkars* a brass pot full of water, the pot being well decorated with flowers. After *puja* is performed to these pots containing water, *Japam* is started. What every Hindu believes unquestioningly is that the chanting of these *Mantrams* has the power of imparting spirituality. After the

prescribed course of *Japam* the individual in whose behalf the *Japams* are conducted squats on a wooden plank and the pot of cold water is emptied on his head one after another. This ordeal was gone through by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar with great pleasure, as he is a devout believer in the efficacy of these *Mantrams*. During the chanting of these *Mantrams* Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar caused surprise among the Vaidik circle by reciting *Mantrams* himself in a faultless manner and in right intonation and with proper rythm. The gentleman stylishly dressed in his close-buttoned long coat with *dhoti* or *Jodhpur* breeches is now a veritable Vaidik in his *Soman* and *Angavastram* closely following the *Japams* and sometimes joining the priests around and about him in their recitation. His friends and well-wishers who had assembled to witness these ceremonies now saw that the intellectual giant to whose remarkable performances they are accustomed was, in an equal measure, a well-proportioned athlete concentrated for work of a different kind which he cheerfully went through with the spirit and enthusiasm of sturdy youth, combined with the coolness, composure and serenity of growing age.

Early in the morning before the commencement of the religious functions he went to the temple of Sri Padmanabha for worship. Most of the officers were also present and accompanied him.

Being anxious to see that the religious ceremonies prescribed by the *Sastras* are performed in the best manner and in the most effective way, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar took meticulous care to select only those who were well versed in the Hindu lore and thoroughly aquainted with the ceremonies and rituals. As the required number of Vaidiks with the best of qualifications were not available in Trivandrum, a large number of men of Sastric



The *Abhishekam* of the Sacred Water on the Dewan—another View

culture and learning were imported from such places as Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Salem, Conjeevoram, Madras, etc., and every one of these religious and pious persons was liberally rewarded for their help and co-operation. In these degenerate days of non-recognition of such merits it was a matter of great joy and gratification for them that their services and religious qualifications were appreciated by one of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's position and eminence in the secular world.

Honoured by H. H. The Maharaja.

At about 10 in the morning His Highness the Maharaja, accompanied by his brother, H. H. the Elayaraja, went to Bhakthivilas to felicitate his trusted Dewan who received his sovereign master and His Highness the Elayaraja in right Royal style as prescribed by the rules of Hindu etiquette. The ladies in the house of the host performed the ceremony of *Mangalaharathi* which is the highest honour paid to a Hindu Maharaja when going to the house of a subject of his. The Royal Party was taken upstairs and treated to the accustomed honours. His Highness made presents usual on such occasions. The Hindu idea is that no donation or any financial aid is accepted for the performance of religious ceremonies, however poor the person may be, but in accordance with His Highness' desires the expenses were defrayed by him. The belief is that, if the necessary expenses are incurred by any one else, the doer will not secure the *punya* or salvation which is the goal of the doer. In this case Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar accepted the offer of his sovereign master out of his high respect for him. This is a purely sentimental idea which a Hindu alone can visualise and appreciate. His Highness also appreciated what, according to Hindu sentiment, was a concession yielded by his loyal and faithful Dewan.

A Busy Day.

In the afternoon there was a *Sadhyā* or feast for the Brahmins followed by *Saravani* or distribution of money for the Brahmins. In the afternoon there was a short *Harikatha* by Sreeman Gayakasikhamani Lingamayyar Muthaya Bhagavathar, the famous *Sangitha Vidwan* (of Mysore) who had composed a special *Kirthanam* or song in honour of Sachivotthama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

So far as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was concerned, it was not a day of ordinary calculation, but it began somewhere about 3 A. M. and lasted till very late at night and an extraordinarily crowded programme was gone through with the alertness and punctuality of youth, admired by all. The congratulatory messages received were so numerous and came from such distant corners as the north, east, west and south of India and far beyond and represented such a wide and cosmopolitan circle of friends, admirers and well-wishers that one may be legitimately proud of it. It was also an unerring index to the high regard and popularity he enjoys outside the State among not only middle classes but also among the "upper ten" in this continent and elsewhere.

The Garden Party.

The Garden Party he gave in the evening was a grand function attended by about 1,800 guests representing all classes and communities and the diverse trades and professions in the whole State. The Dewan, helped by his sons and his Private Secretary and his daughters-in-law, received the ladies and gentlemen. A special *shamiana* put up and effectively decorated accommodated the guests. After a luscious lunch the tables were promptly removed and the whole assemblage were again seated for the very enjoyable entertainment that followed. The chief



The Dewan at the *Aswamedha* Ceremony

item was the enchanting classic dance of Palace Dancer Gopinath and his party. The scenes and stories enacted were from the Hindu epics and appealed to the audience very much. The music of Mrs. Lalitha Venkataraman was also excellent and highly appreciated. The guests departed after spending an enjoyable time during which the Dewan moved freely among his guests. This function was followed by a small dinner party at Bhakthivilas at the end of which Chemangudi Srinivasa Aiyar entertained the guests with his soul-stirring music.

Congratulations by Trunk Telephone.

It is interesting to note here that the system of Telephone connection which was completed a few days before the auspicious event was utilised by several persons in the moffusil stations to convey their greetings to the Dewan on this day. This, it will be remembered, is only a part of the scheme under which Travancore will be connected with the Main Trunk Line at Delhi and that, when the arrangements are complete, Travancore will be in touch with the rest of India—a convenience for which, it may be appositely mentioned here, the name of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar will ever be remembered.

CHAPTER III

Appreciation from the People.

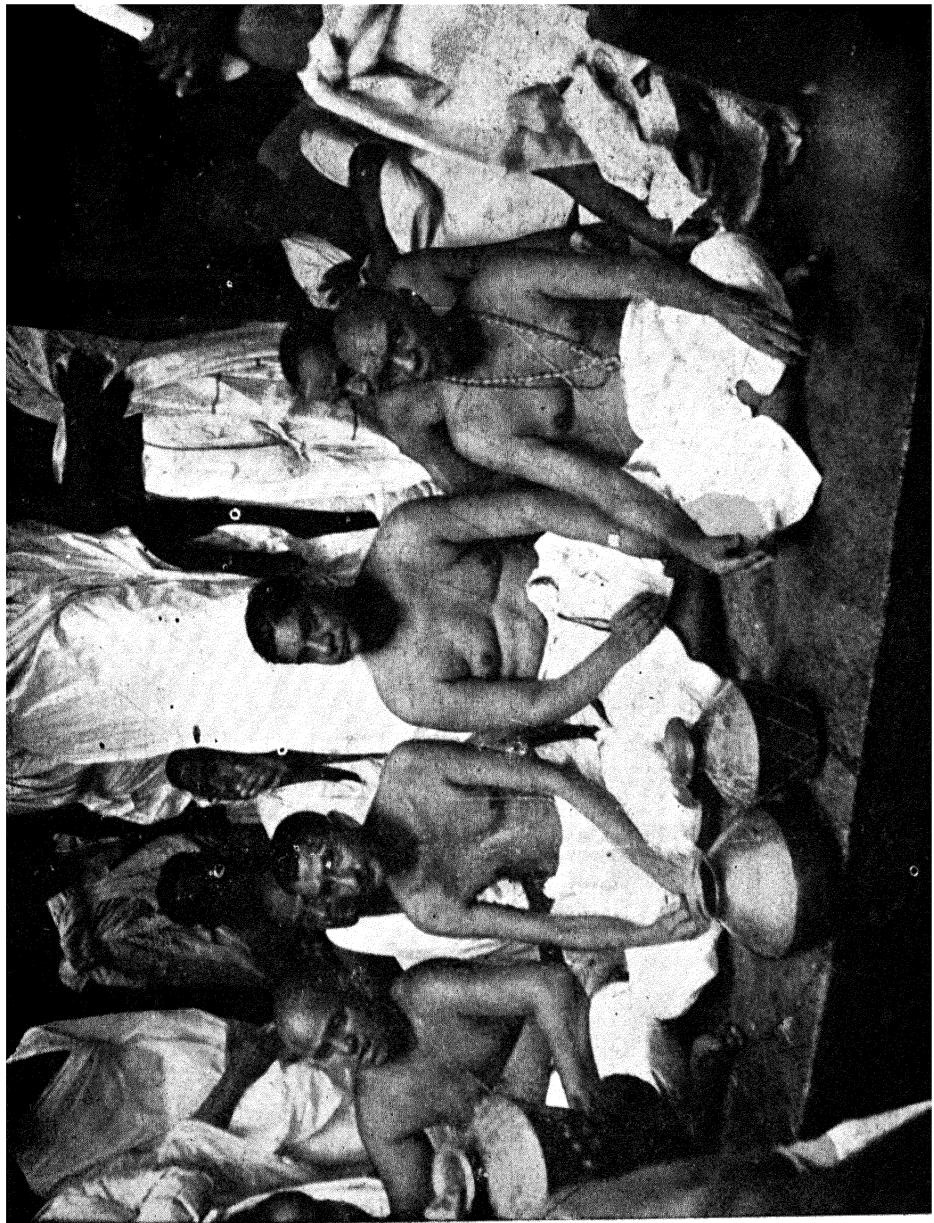
Addresses and Speeches.

The public meeting of the representatives of the various classes and communities in the whole State which was held at Trivandrum on the 6th September under the presidentship of Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhurandhara V. S. Subramonia Aiyar, the Retired Dewan, was followed by several such meetings in every village and the whole State was astir to present Addresses and also establish memorials in various forms, each according to the means available.

Flood of Requests to present Addresses.

The Dewan received quite a flood of requests to be allowed to present Addresses encased in caskets. In view of the large number of representations received he decided to have a circular issued making it clear to the people at large that on no account should Government officers be allowed to take part in these demonstrations, that no official should subscribe for anything in aid of this movement and that, in connection with the activities of the non-officials also, there should be no extravagant expenditure and that, wherever caskets were intended for presentation, they should be of nominal value and that every care should be taken to account for the money collected so that some responsible person should be made to keep a careful account. As for the Addresses to be presented to him in person, he implored the various

The Guests of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar watching the Vaidik Ceremonies



individuals and corporate bodies to put themselves in touch with Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhurandhara V. S. Subramonia Aiyar, the Chairman of the Sachivotthama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Sashti-abdapurthi Celebration Committee, the central organisation at the capital, so that there may be a clear understanding on the subject as to the arrangement of the programme. The Dewan, in compliance with the request of Mr. Subramonia Aiyar, agreed to go to a public place to receive the Address from the People of Travancore. It was then arranged that all those who want to present Addresses should consult the Chairman of the Central Celebration Committee in Trivandrum. Finally, the arrangement agreed to was that the different Addresses, the acceptance of which was agreed to by the Dewan, should be taken to the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall where the presentation of the People's Address will take place.

Address from the People of Travancore.

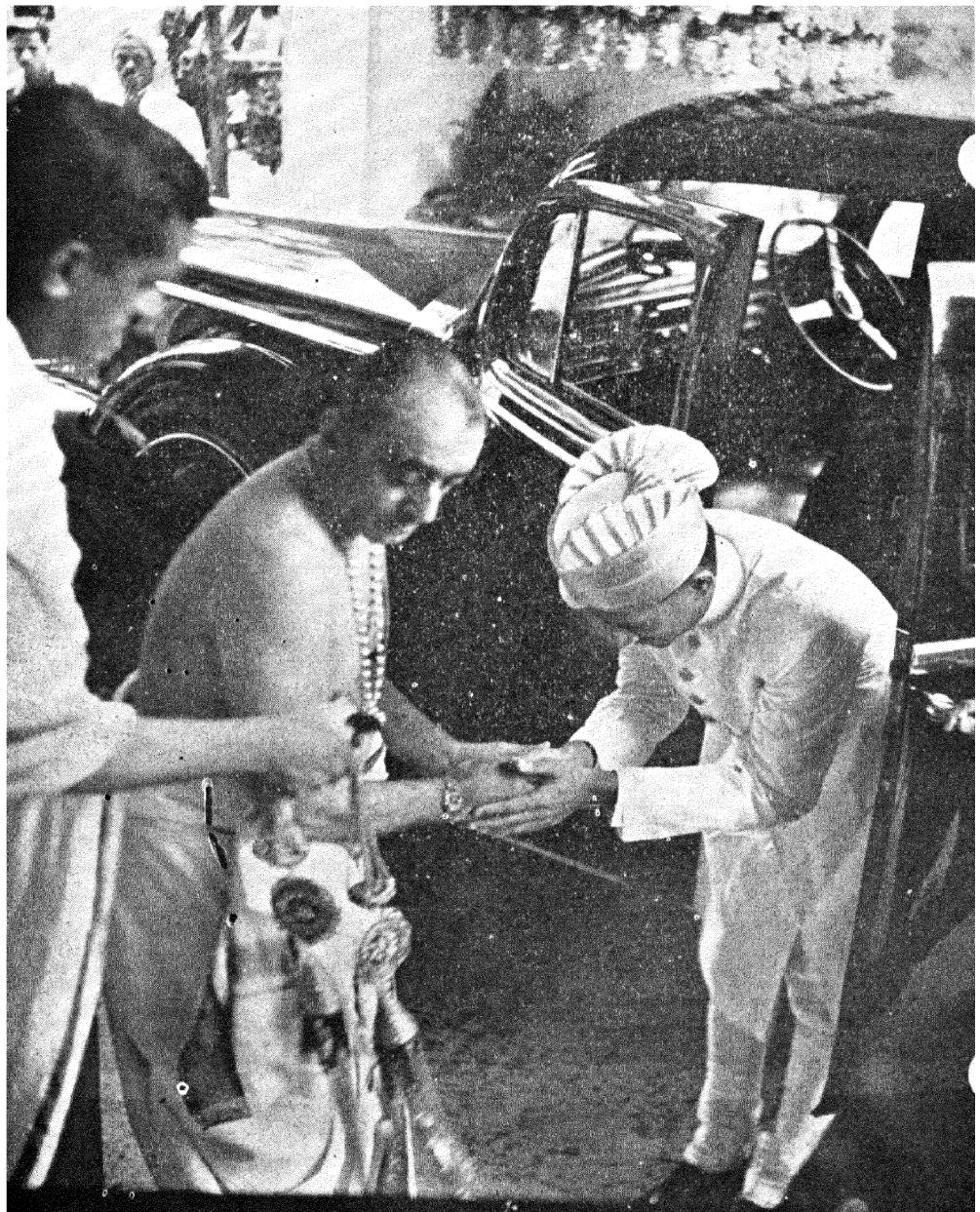
According to the printed programme, the Dewan had agreed to accept the People's Address between 3 and 4-15 P. M. on the *Sashtiabdaipurthi* Day at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall. The Hall presented an animated scene with an overflow attendance of the prominent inhabitants from the whole State who represented the different classes and communities and the diverse interests, professions and trades. The tasteful decoration was very effective. The distinguished guest of the evening on arrival was received with Nagaswaram music by the Chairman and the members of the All Travancore Celebration Committee and garlanded. He was then conducted to the dais which was filled to its utmost capacity by a distinguished assembly. After a few preliminary items of music, the Chairman called upon Mr. Malloor K. Govinda Pillai, B. A., B. L., retired Principal of the Law College and Advocate to read the Address. The casket in which it was encased was an exquisite work of art

for which the Government School of Arts was responsible. The following was the full text of the Address :—

Sir,

On this happy and auspicious occasion of your *Sashtiabdapurthi*, we, the People of Travancore, beg leave to tender you our warmest felicitations and good wishes. Hindu tradition defines *Sashtiabdapurthi*, as the apex of the middle arch in the span of human life. You have reached it by the Grace of God, in ever growing health and strength and we devoutly pray that you may continue to be so blessed and that your deep learning, your versatile intellect, your rare wisdom and your unfaltering courage, matured by time and mellowed by experience, may yet yield richer and richer harvests. No one who has known you can fail to be struck by your dynamic personality which imbues everything you touch with life and momentum, your great humanity which is discernible in every utterance you make and every action you take, your infinite capacity for work harnessed to farsighted statesmanship which keeps you ever vigilant and resourceful in serving the cause of the people, in the shaping of whose destinies Providence has allotted to you so prominent a part. We have known you intimately and have come to love and admire you, and today we are happy to share with you the glory and promise of this occasion.

During the eight years you have been with us, first as Legal and Constitutional Adviser to His Highness the Maharaja, and latterly as His Highness' trusted minister, you have wholeheartedly identified yourself with us, and rendered this period bright and memorable in the history of modern Travancore. The inauguration of the Bi-cameral Legislature, the first of its kind in any Indian State; the development of the Pallivasal Hydro Electric Scheme, bidding fair to usher in a new era of prosperity and abundance in the State; the establishment of the Travancore



The Dewan receiving His Highness the Maharaja

University with a new orientation in the system of education making it suitable to the genius of the people and conducive to their advancement ; the introduction of the State Transport system designed to ensure public convenience in the matter of communications—these, to mention only a few of your outstanding achievements, bear eloquent testimony to your fervent love of this country and your unerring insight into its future. Travancore is genuinely grateful to you for them and above all for the great part you have played in the issue, by our Gracious Sovereign, of the epoch-making Temple Entry Proclamation.

On the cultural, economic and industrial sides also your services have been no less memorable. Indeed, your aims, ideals and achievements in all these directions have already transformed Travancore and have served to give a lead to the rest of India. We have no hesitation in saying that your name will be remembered with feelings of affection, esteem and gratitude by generations yet unborn and your achievements will be chronicled with unreserved tributes of praise and commendation by future historians.

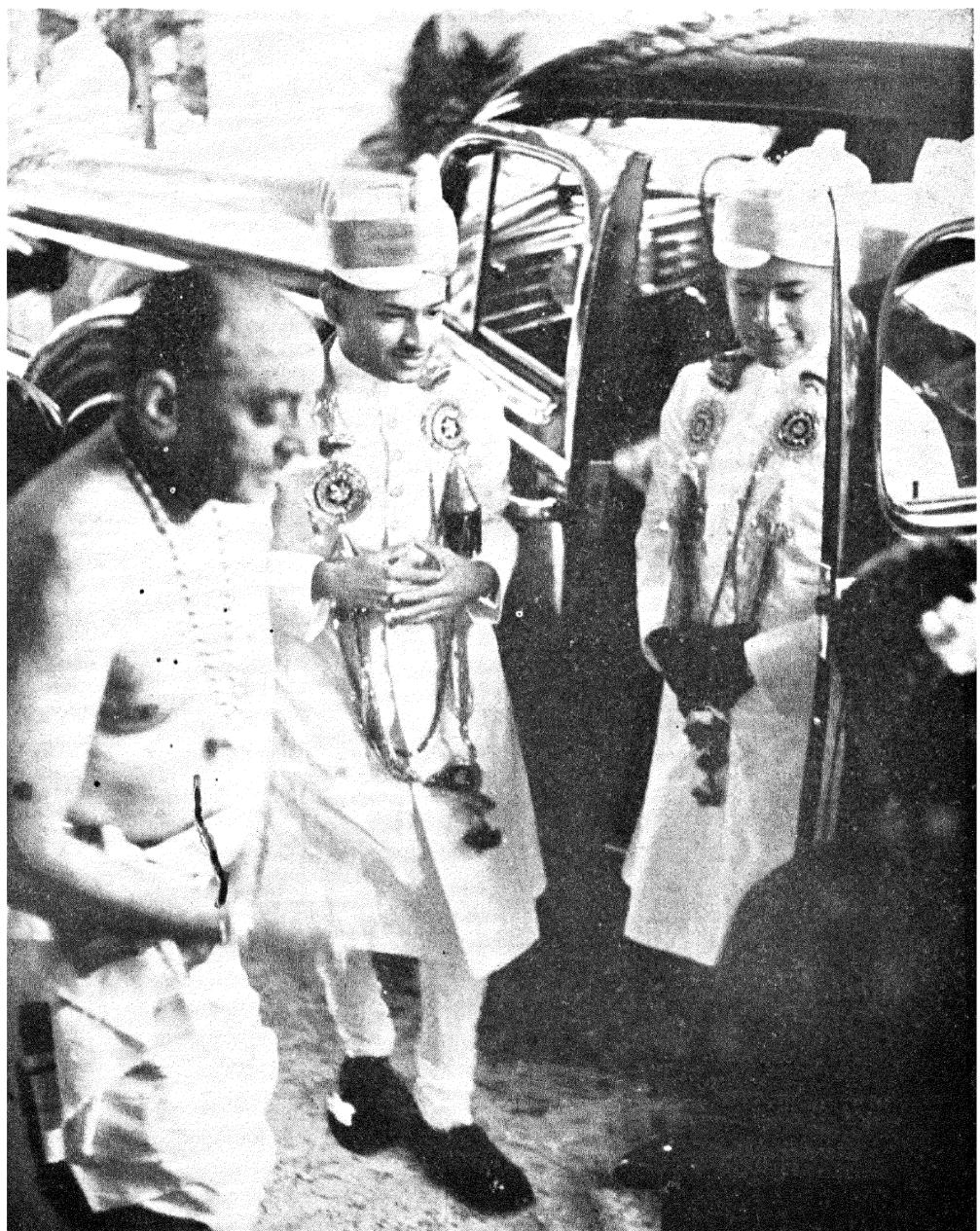
May the Great Giver of All Good shower His choicest blessings on you, enabling you to celebrate, in due time, your *Satabhishekam* in the enjoyment of perfect health and happiness, and may your inestimable services to this State be continued for many more years, is the devout prayer of

Your friends, well-wishers and admirers,
The People of Travancore.

There were in all 77 Addresses brought for presentation from the various parts of the State and by the representatives of the different communities and interests. As previously arranged, all these Addresses were taken as read and they were presented to

the Dewan each in a casket which he accepted one after another. The following is a list :—

- (1) The Municipal Council, Kottayam
- (2) The Ladies Horticultural Society, Trivandrum
- (3) All Travancore Hindu Maha Sabha, Kottayam
- (4) South Travancore Muslim League, Thuckalay
- (5) The Numbudri Yogakshema Sabha, Pathauamthitta
- (6) The Municipal Council, Kayankulam
- (7) Public of Neyyattinkara
- (8) The Ayurvedic High School, Vaikam
- (9) The Keralavilasam Printing House
- (10) The Sachivotama *Sashtiabdapurthi* Celebration Committee, Parur
- (11) The Travancore State Muslim League
- (12) The Kerala Hindu Mission, Trivandrum
- (13) Hindu Co-operative Society, Aymanam
- (14) All Travancore Syriac Association
- (15) Pulayas of South Travancore
- (16) Travancore Ganaka Yuva Jana Sangham
- (17) Sri Chitrodaya Parishat
- (18) The *Sashtiabdapurthi* Celebration Committee, Valiathurai
- (19) The Numbudri Yogakshema Upasabha
- (20) The Trivandrum Home of Service
- (21) The Sri Chitra Thirunal Library
- (22) Mannar Nair Samajam
- (23) The Nair Service Society Karayogam, Kuriathi
- (24) The Sachivotama *Sashtiabdapurthi* Celebration Committee of Muslims, Changanacherry
- (25) The S. N. D. P. Yogam
- (26) Alleppey Chamber of Commerce
- (27) All Travancore Vaniga Vysia Sangam
- (28) The Travancore Humanitarian Society
- (29) All Travancore Varnava Samajam
- (30) Thakazhi Devaswam and its Karakkars
- (31) Gomathinayagam Memorial Reading Room and Library
- (32) The Travancore Ayurvedic Panditha Samithy
- (33) The Public of Mavelikara
- (34) Madhya Thiruvithamcore Malayala Brahmin Nambiathiri Yuva Jana Sangham
- (35) Viswakarma Paripalana Yogam, Nedunganda



The Dewan, His Highness the Maharaja and His Highness the Elaya Raja

(36) All Travancore Parayar Maha Sabha, Karunagapally
 (37) The Trivandrum Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.
 (38) Malankara Jacobite Syrian Church
 (39) Thirunal *Sashtiabdaipurthi* Celebrations Committee, Vilavancode
 (40) Do. Do. Do. Manakad
 (41) Travancore State People's League, Changanacherry
 (42) State Express Forwading Syndicate, Taikad
 (43) S. N. D. S. Sangham
 (44) The West Coast Syndicate Motors Ltd., Alleppy
 (45) L. S. P. Sangham, Attingal
 (46) The Travancore Ezhava Mahajana Yogam, Petta
 (47) All Kerala Ezhava Temple Entry Celebration Committee, Trivandrum
 (48) The Hermitage, Nauthancode, Trivandrum
 (49) The Bharatha Social Service League, Trivandrum
 (50) Latin Christian Thirunal Celebration Committee
 (51) Elanthoor Harijanodharana Samaj, Elanthoor
 (52) The Municipal Council, Kuzhithurai
 (53) Vasumathi Harijana Sevasramom
 (54) South Indian United Church Christians
 (55) Travancore Tantri Maha Sabham
 (56) Shertallai Yuvajana Sangha
 (57) Central Travancore Malayala Brahmin Jennis Association
 (58) The *Sashtiabdaipurthi* Celebration Committee, Thodupuzha
 (59) The People of Devicolam
 (60) The *Sashtiabdaipurthi* Celebration Committee, Tiruvalla
 (61) Premier Engineering Company, Trivandrum
 (62) Harihara Aiyar Ananda Lakshmi Ammal, Shertallai
 (63) The Public of Parur, North Travancore
 (64) All Travancore Varnava Samajam
 (65) The Municipal Council, Neyyattinkarai
 (66) The Public of Kanjirapally
 (67) Accountant General's Office Employee's Association
 (68) P. C. Sanskrit High School, Ranni
 (69) The All Travancore Humanitarian Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society
 (70) All Travancore Pulaya Maha Jana Sabha
 (71) Members of the Panthalam Kottaram
 (72) The Public of Shertallay
 (73) Mottur N. Raman Nair
 (74) B. V. Book Depot & Publishing Works, Trivandrum
 (75) Travancore Sambava Maha Jana Sangham

(76) Sri Chitra Amateurs, Chettikulangara
 (77) South Travancore Tamil Ezhava Address Committee.

Each of these was encased in a casket and presented to the Dewan. As some of these have a value and importance from the point of view of communal consideration or vested interests, they are published as Appendix.

The Dewan's Reply.

After accepting all these 77 Addresses, the Dewan replied thus :

Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar, Mr. Govinda Pillai, Rev. Fathers, ladies and gentlemen,

It is not in the language of formality or convention that I offer my most sincere and heart-felt thanks to those individuals and organisations which have, out of the abundance of their kindness and their sentiments towards me, participated in this evening's function. It would be hypocritical on my part if I did not own two things, if I did not own on this occasion that there has been a feeling that the public of Travancore are being asked to participate in a function in regard to which there have been differences of opinion. Some persons have expressed themselves in that direction and I respect them for the manner, though not always the method, in which they have expressed such opinion. I am under no illusion when I say that I regard this gathering as composed of a fairly good proportion of the public of Travancore who have, out of their charitableness, forgiven and forgotten all the differences and have on this occasion come together to give their felicitations and good wishes. (*Cheers*). There is one point on which I made myself perfectly clear (and the Government of Travancore have made this equally clear) that not a single pie of Government or public money should be spent on any celebration connected with any function other than that of

Members of the Royal Family, Travancore, with those of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar



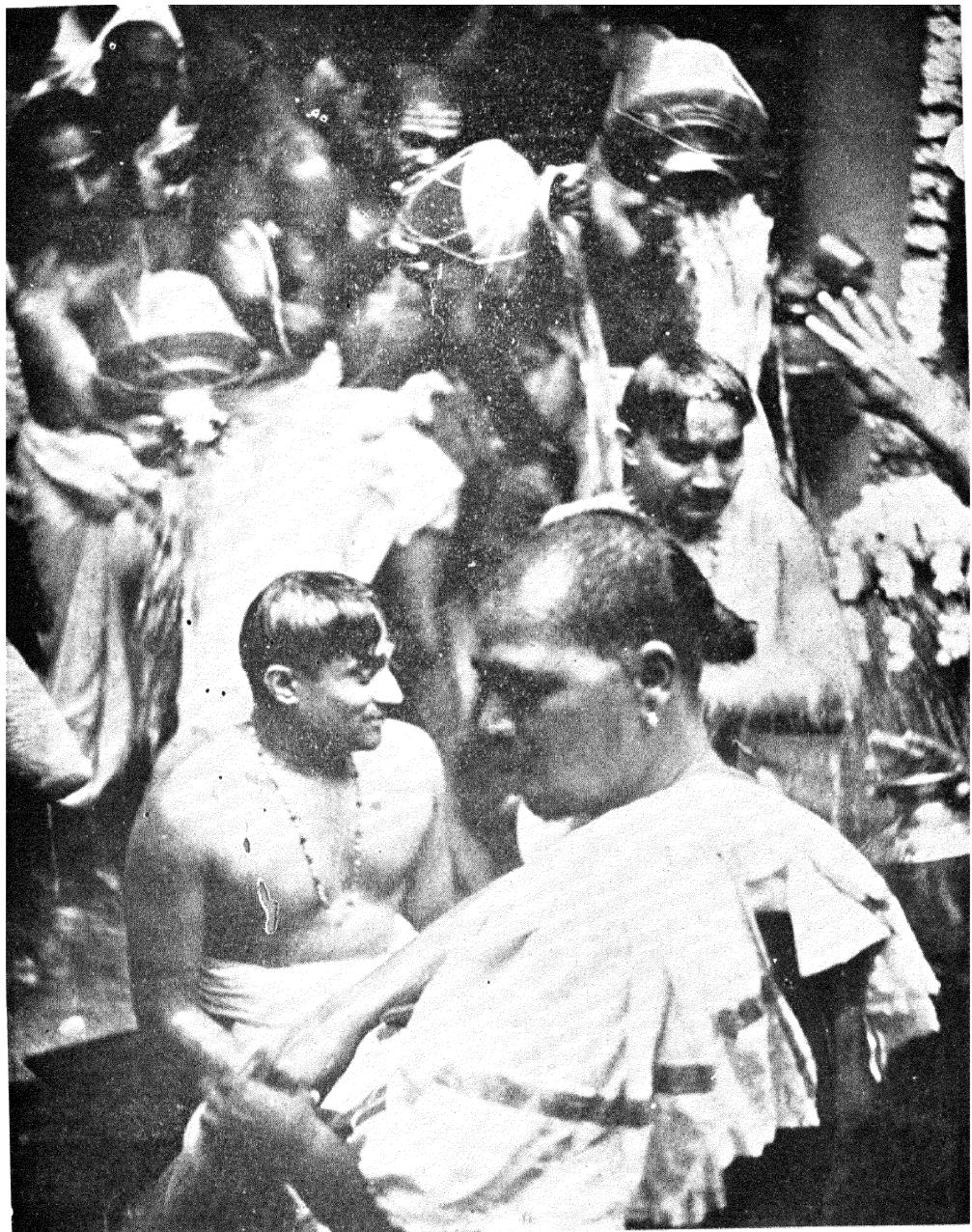
the Birthday of His Gracious Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. It was also made perfectly clear that these functions and such schemes and programmes as have been inaugurated in various places should be *by* the public and designed *for* public purposes. I am glad that, on this occasion, unworthy as I am of the honour of which I have been the recipient, it is a good sign that all over the State, from Shertallai up to Nagercoil, new forms of charity have come into existence—hospitals here, pay-wards there, libraries, parks and tanks (*Cheers*). These number so many that it is a great tribute to the magnanimity of the people of Travancore as well as to the affection they bear towards one who has laboured for them, and it is in that spirit that I view these manifestations and these acts.

Some time ago I was reading one of the Epistles—Rev. Fathers will excuse me—in which it is said :

“ We are too apt very often to neglect what is just before our eyes. We are apt to cast our eyes on more distant topics ”. You will forgive me if, speaking to a not inconsiderable portion of the public of Travancore, I recall to your attention, to my attention and to the attention of all the public workers of this great State, that there is a great deal for us to do. There is a great deal to be done *for* this country, *by* this country and *in* this country. Essentially and primarily that work has to be done by the men and women of Travancore and that work is great, imminent and urgent. There is no room in this country for small squabbles over the problems which are neither immeditate nor urgent in character. This country has great gifts. This country is blessed by nature and by Providence. It is fertile in most regions, full of vegetable and mineral resources, full, ultimately, of human resources. This country can do a great deal and this is the time to do it. I am not one of those who

shudder at the appalling situation created by the war when the fundamentals of faith and life are rudely shaken and the ideals of humanity, ignored. It is our duty to stand by the right and this is also the time to make ourselves self-sufficient. This is the time when the activities and the ideals of the people of Travancore should be applied and utilised for the purpose of making the best use of their material resources, of that intelligence, of that acuteness and of that culture with which Travancore has been blessed. Therefore, on this occasion when you have done me this honour, I appeal to the people of Travancore, not to be too much engrossed with the things of today, with the troubles of tomorrow, with the worries of day after tomorrow, but to plough ahead, look ahead, dream and to achieve in time what you could not have done before. If the people of Travancore are animated by such ideas, it will be a joy; an over-abiding pleasure to humble individuals like myself called upon to take part in the administration of the country.

My friend, Mr. Govinda Pillai, whose legal training and whose analytical gift are not fortunately given to me, whenever he talks about me, indulges in hyperbolical language. He referred to me in glowing terms. Very early during my regime, I stated that the quantity and quality and the nature of the work done by any administrator should be judged when he is at a safe distance, out of the office and boundaries of Travancore, when there can be absolutely no chance of any suggestion or implication of gratitude. Notwithstanding that, my esteemed friend, Mr. Govinda Pillai, was guilty. But I may assure you, and through you, the people of Travancore that all the energies, mental and physical, with which I have been endowed will be utilised for the good of this country (*cheers*). What else could I do in administering this country, working under such a Maharaja whose one



The *Abhishekam* of the sacred water over the sons of the Dowan

thought is his people's welfare, and whose simplicity of life and spirit of practical idealism is such that he is a shining example to all Travancore and the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of the people of Travancore (*Cheers*). In matters of administration and at such a juncture, differences of opinion are bound to arise, human nature, the very richness of human nature, being what it is. But whatever differences there may be, proximate or ultimate, whatever divergences of view-points there may be, surely it should be the desire of every one to act together to make this country a rich, a prosperous and an economically dynamic country. Therefore, my appeal as in the beginning, so in the end, is this. Let us pull together the car. The road is full of ruts. It is slushy at times. It will retard the progress of the car, but let us heave together. Let us pull it together and let us bring it to its destination, the *sanctum sanctorum*, for which we in our several ways and according to our several creeds, are working, yearning, dreaming, aspiring (*Cheers*). Let me conclude by quoting a passage from the Rig veda :

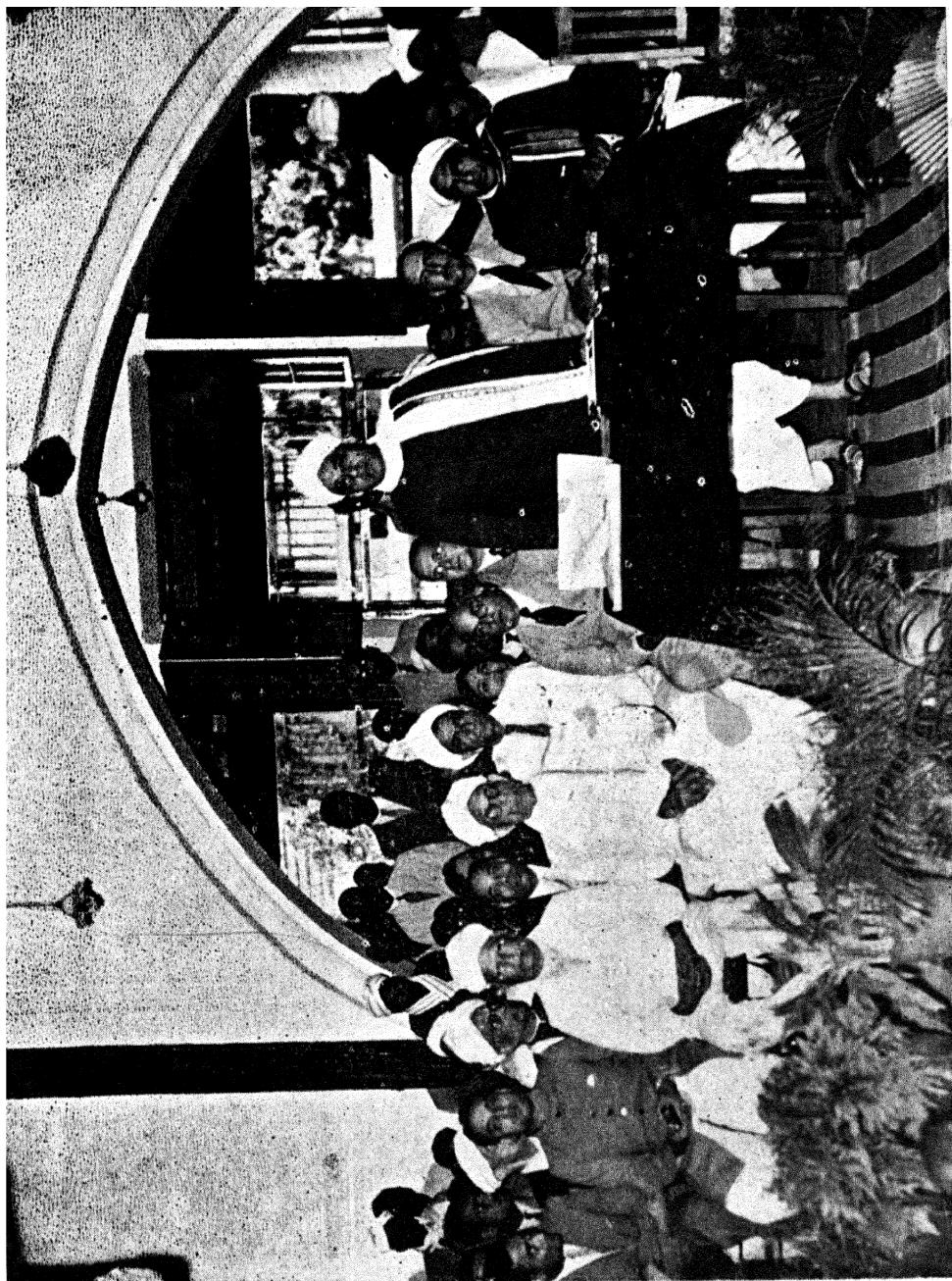
संगच्छवं संवद्धं ।
सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ॥

समानीव आकृतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।
समानमस्तु वो मनः यथा वस्तुसहासति ॥

“Let us march forward. Let us speak harmoniously and in unison. Let our minds think alike. Let our intentions be uniform. Let our hearts beat together. Let our minds be at one in the heart's desire”. (*Cheers*).

People's Garden Party.

One of the items in the programme decided by the Celebration Committee was a Garden Party. This took place on the 14th November at the Law College Hall admirably suited for the purpose. The Hall was full of a large and distinguished gathering composed of the representatives of the people of the whole State—vakils, teachers, bankers, tradesmen, merchants and other businessmen—and of every class and community. It was a brilliant function. After lunch, Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhu-randhara V. S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, the Retired Dewan and Chairman of the Celebration Committee, addressed the assembly. In felicitating Sir Ramaswami Aiyar and wishing him long life and all happiness he said, *inter alia*, that the function they were having in the Law College Hall was only an extention of the public meeting held in the Victoria Jubilee Town hall on the 'Sashtibdapurthi' Day, when Addresses were presented to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. All those Addresses had referred to the various benefical reforms and schemes that had been taken up and carried out during his Dewanship. The speaker said that he did not think it necessary to dilate on them again. He wished to allude only to one aspect of the various measures. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his reply to the Addresses mentioned something about ill-informed and unfair criticisms levelled against him. Criticism one has to expect and differences of opinion there are bound be on live issues. But any opinion that is not based on knowledge and inspired by a *bona fide* desire to inform and improve was not entitled to any consideration. We should keep the advancement of our State in the political, economic and social spheres as our goal and try to see whether the schemes of reform are intended and designed to help us forward in the direction of that goal. If the car of State is moving in that direction, it is our duty not only not to throw obstacles in the



Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar replying to the People's Address

way but each, to the best of his power, to help it forward. There may be vested interests here and vested interests there that may be adversely affected. But our attention should not be diverted by them. His Highness our Gracious Maharaja has dedicated his life to the cause of the advancement of the State and his people. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar, though not born in Travancore, has identified himself with us and is utilising his great capacity and administrative experience in the attainment of His Highness' patriotic ambition. Let us all help in that work earnestly and heartily.

The Dewan's Reply.

On rising the Dewan was received with deafening cheers which lasted for some time. He spoke thus:—

Rev. Fathers, Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar, ladies and gentlemen,

Your president spoke of a logical continuation. Logic demanded that, having presented an address to which a reply was given, the logical continuation should be confined to gastronomic activities. But in public life, as also in private, this little creature, logic, is a very tricky one and is very easily led this way and that, notwithstanding that the possessor or would-be possessor of that logical faculty, in addition to being a distinguished student, has also been a Judge, and therefore entitled to reason and to use that faculty of logic. Anyhow, here we are and I am booked for one more speech. It would be extreme hypocrisy on my part if I said I was not prepared for the speech.

I have this advantage today, that I am being felicitated on attaining what is usually called a respectable age (*laughter*). One of the advantages and the privileges of that respectable age is to be looked up to by young men—young men of the type of

my friend, Mr. Narayana Menon (*laughter*). I find to my infinite astonishment that, when I stated a barely positive truth, it has not been received in the spirit in which it ought to be received, because I consider that Mr. Narayana Menon is, in spite of 80 years, 25 years younger than myself. But there are many here who are really younger than myself, and I thought that I could do no better on this occasion than to repeat an old quotation which I have constantly had recourse to throughout the whole of my life, ever since Rudyard Kilping wrote it in a moment of absent-mindedness. Dealing with politics, dealing with public life, Rudyard Kipling has said this. It is applicable to every one of us at every stage in our life.

“ If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you;
 But make allowance for their doubting too ; .
 If you can wait and not be tired by waiting, ..
 Or being lied about, don’t deal in lies,
 Or being hated, don’t give way to hating ; .
 And yet don’t look too good, nor talk too wise :
 If you can dream—and not make dreams your master,
 If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim ;
 If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster,
 And treat these two impostors just the same ; ”

It struck me that no better model, no better maxim can be laid before public men than these lines. I would be the last person to claim that it has been given to me to live up to these ideals or anything like this. But believe me, my friends, when I say that, although by instinct, by training and by tradition, I am unfortunately a fighter—rather pugnacious myself—yet I have tried to make allowances for the other men to fight at the same time. I am prepared to take knocks provided those knocks are, in the language of boxing, above the belt and not below. The



Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer replying at People's Garden Party

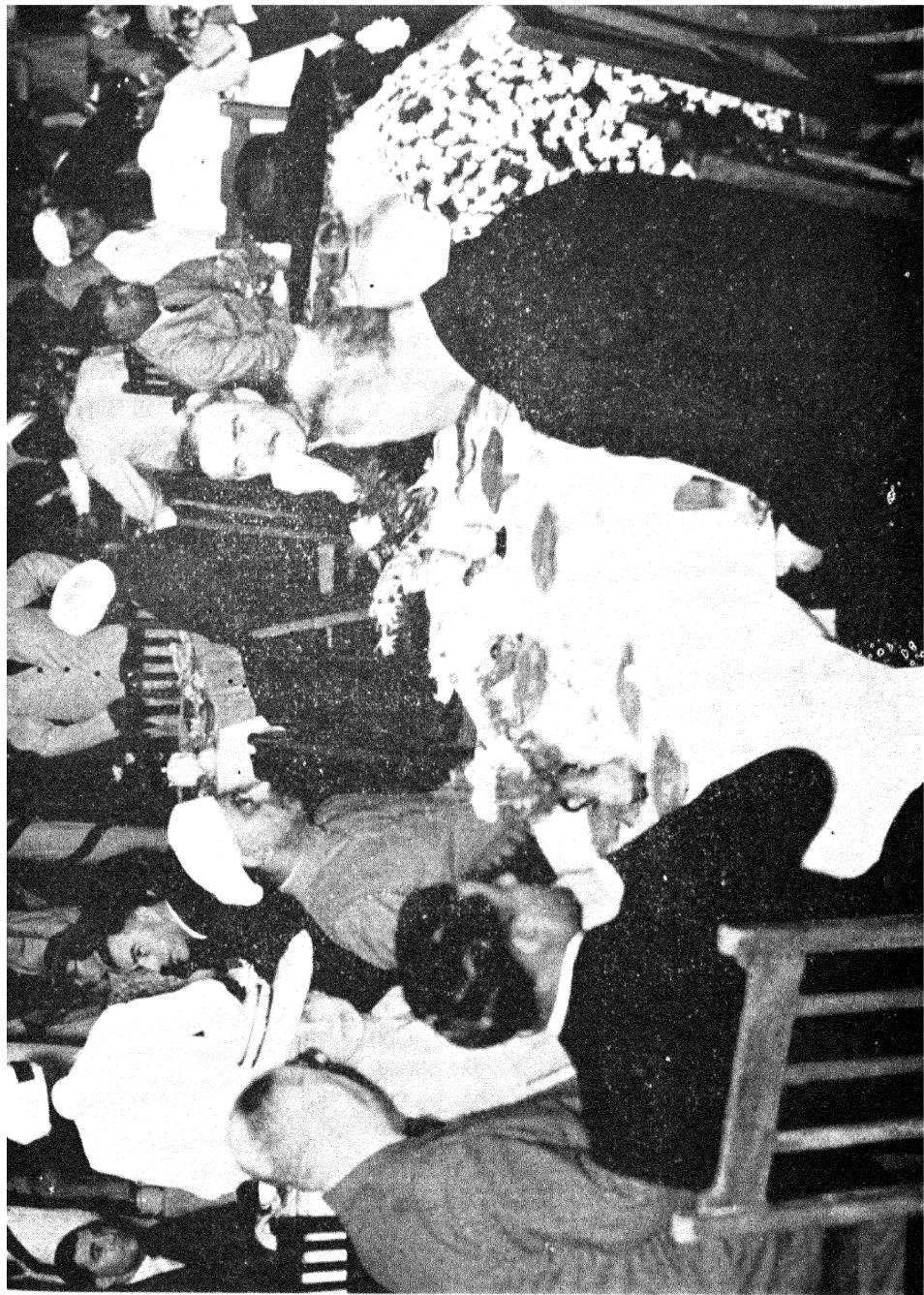
world would be the poorer, it would be dismal and almost sorrowful, if there were not differences and divergences of opinion as to political and other matters. After all, man is not to be reduced to the dead level of a steam-roller uniformly to think alike and dream alike. In the course of the evolution of human nature, in the course of the growth of human institutions, there must come times when people do not wish to stand still; and it is in the action and inter-action of these factors that make for political and for public life; and, therefore, he would be a poor statesman, a very insignificant and a wrong-headed administrator who did not make allowances for what one of the Germans said;

Politics has been mentioned. Who is it that does not want freedom, growing from strength to strength and from more to more? But there are occasions in the history of a nation, of a race, of a country when what is called stability has, after all, certain advantages. Stability may comprise what may appear to be static, but is yet in motion, as there are machines which roll very fast although they may appear to be still. I want my friends to realise the very important truth that was enunciated by Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar, namely, that we are fortunate in this country in having a Ruler who not only desires to confer benefits on his subjects from the economic, social and religious points of view but who is not anxious to keep power or conserve power or concentrate power in himself (*Cheers*). His life, the tradition of his dynasty, the environment, the long role of history of this country, make such a thing inconceivable. You have a Ruler who desires to take the people with him and be one of the people. He is a man of such simplicity of habits, such directness of vision. His advisers may play him false; his advisers may be unworthy of him; but his advisers cannot long remain unworthy of him without being over-ruled. And so,

without going into politics, into the intricacies of politics, I may say this—that after all, patience is not a bad quality. You cannot, in the midst of a conversation, sitting at the other end of the table, suddenly present a pistol and say “surrender or I will fire.” You cannot, when holding your neighbour’s hand, reach out the other hand to some distant place for instructions from unseen forces. You cannot do that kind of thing; and, therefore, I would ask my friends within and without this Hall to remember that sometimes things move when they fear they are not moving. There are times like this when what is necessary is the consolidation of the material resources of the country, for which purpose other States than Travancore have found it necessary to retain a certain centralised control. That control is essential on certain occasions.

This is one of the many occasions on which I have had the inestimable privilege of coming into contact with men of various creeds and races and faiths who have all extended to me a discerning sympathy, a generous comprehension and a comradeship which I deeply appreciate and highly value. Armed and fortified by that consolation, secure in the thought that in our Ruler we have a most safe guide, secure also in the thought that the world spirit moves and that he that delays is lost, I shall work, and with your help, climb the way to the hill top to which aspiring humanity is marching (*Cheers*).

At the Dewan's Garden Party



CHAPTER IV.

Move From Corporate Bodies and Associations.

Best in Indian Culture and Tradition.

Several Corporate Bodies and Associations working in the State and engaged in activities of diverse kinds were equally enthusiastic in offering their congratulations and in honouring the Dewan.

Honoured by the Travancore University.

On Saturday the 11th November the first Convocation of the Travancore University was held in the Council Chamber and was presided over by His Highness the Chancellor. Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvathi Bayi, D. Litt. (Andhra University), D. Litt. (Benares University), Pro-Chancellor, was also present and was seated on the dais. There was a distinguished assembly of officials, leading non-officials and other prominent gentlemen both from Travancore and outside.

Conferment of LL. D.

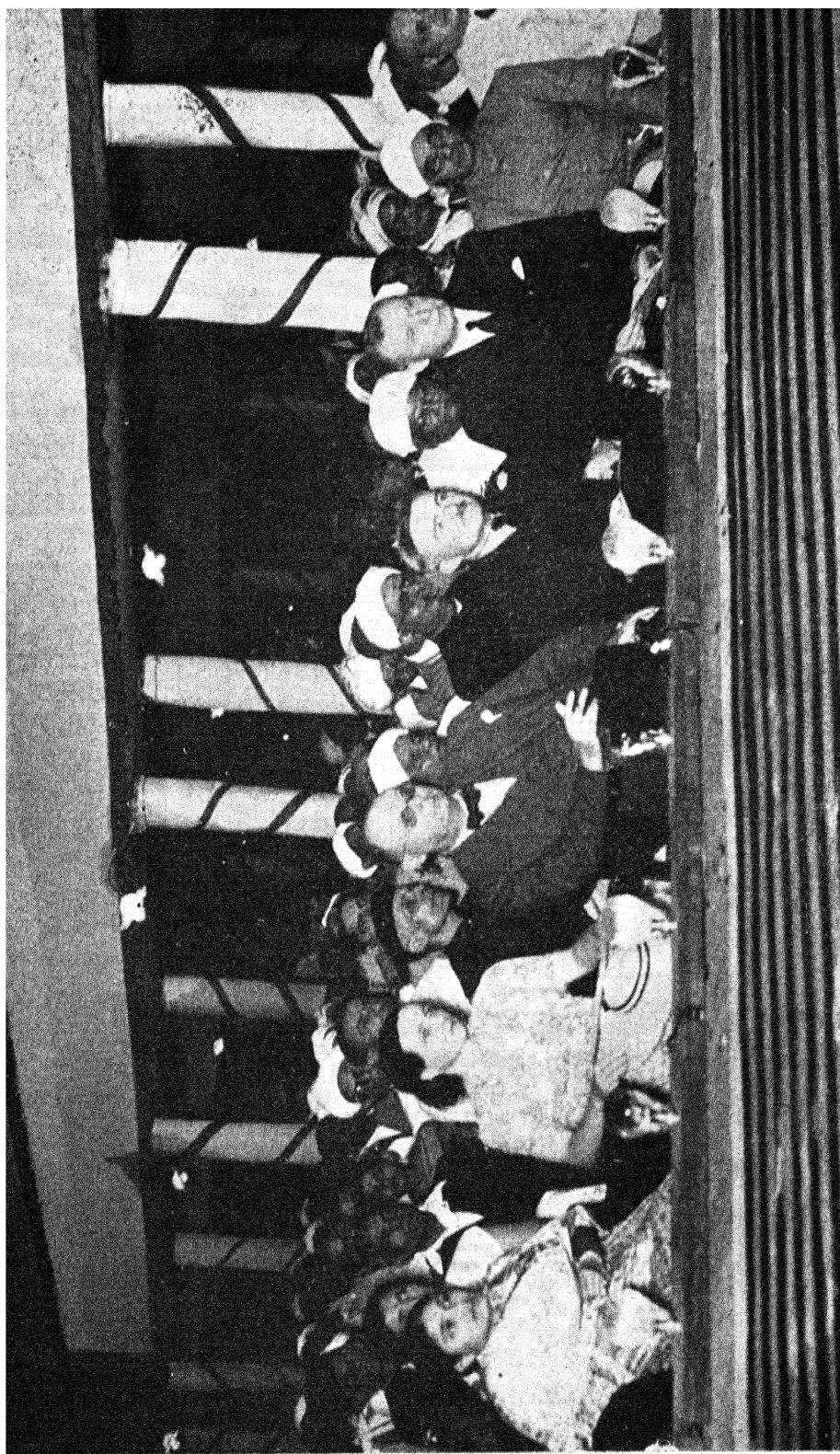
The Pro-Vice-Chancellor in moving for the conferment of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws upon Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, spoke as follows :

“ May it please Your Highness,

I deem it a great and even unique honour to be called upon to present to Your Highness Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore and Vice-Chancellor of our

University, whom the Syndicate and the Senate have unanimously recommended to Your Highness as a fit and proper person for the conferment of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of this University by reason of his eminent position and attainments, his valuable services in the fields of Law, Politics and Administration, and his contribution to the cause of education. So numerous, varied and striking are the achievements of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar that even the famous Universities of the world should feel proud to have the opportunity of conferring their highest honorary degree upon him. In the history of modern India, few men have attained such high distinction both in public life and in great offices of State, and I find it difficult to give adequate expression to the feelings of respect and admiration which his personality and career inspire in the heart of every true Indian. As a lawyer, he not only became the leader of the Madras Bar on the original side at the remarkably early age of 32, but he found time to take active and keen interest in Indian politics and was elected as the All-India Secretary of the Indian National Congress in 1917. In that capacity and as one of the founders of the Home Rule Movement and the All-India Liberal Federation, he holds a high place among the builders of the growing edifice of India's constitutional freedom. His tenure as Law Member of the Madras Government was characterised by the initiation of several fruitful and beneficent schemes, and the Mettur Project, the Pykara Project and the Vizagapatam Harbour are monuments of his labours. As a member of the Government of India, he was the first Indian to be appointed as the official leader of the Legislative Assembly, though he happened to be only a junior member of the Executive Council at the time. As a representative of India at the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, as a member of the Indian Round Table Conference and as a member of the

The Dewan's Garden Party on the day of his *Sirshthi*, *darpani*, *thi*



Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Reforms, he has rendered valuable service to the Empire and has advanced the position and prestige of our mother country. It is interesting to note that as a delegate of the World Economic Conference, he served on the same Committee of which Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, was a member. His services to Travancore as Legal and Constitutional Adviser since 1931 and as Dewan during the last three years are of incalculable value, and Your Highness has been graciously pleased to mark your appreciation of those services by conferring on him the title of Sachivothama. Though, as he has himself informed us on several occasions, the Temple Entry Proclamation owes its inspiration to Your Highness's lofty idealism, courage and sympathy for the out-cast, his advice and guidance in implementing this great Charter of liberties mark him out as a statesman of the highest order. Apart from his services as a Trustee of the Pachayappa's College Trusts and as a member representing the Madras University in the Madras Legislative Assembly, his most important contribution to the cause of education is the creation of the Travancore University, of which he is the Honorary Vice-Chancellor. This is not the place or the occasion, nor am I the proper person, to estimate his administrative achievements in Travancore; but it may, I think, be said without fear of contradiction that he has consecrated his rare and splendid gifts to the task of advancing the welfare and prestige of the State and of upholding and maintaining unimpaired its noble monarchical traditions which are in consonance with the true ideals of ancient Hindu kingship.

Those who have had the privilege of coming in close contact with him have felt inspired and uplifted as much by his personality as by his achievement. They are dazzled by his

brilliance, charm and power, the marvellously quick grasp of complicated issues, the strange union of qualities never elsewhere found together, the endless surprises, the dynamic energy. While he is the embodiment of all that is best in Indian culture and tradition, he is passionately keen that his country should derive the full benefit from the vitalising forces of Western civilization. His superb physical fitness is a marvel in itself and is undoubtedly the outcome of stern discipline and an austere mode of life. It is a source of gratification to all concerned that the conferment of this Honorary Degree by the University synchronises with his *Sashtiyabdapurthi* which is being celebrated with enthusiasm throughout the State. The Travancore University could not have selected a more deserving person for the conferment of its first Honorary Degree and the University has covered itself with honour by honouring him.

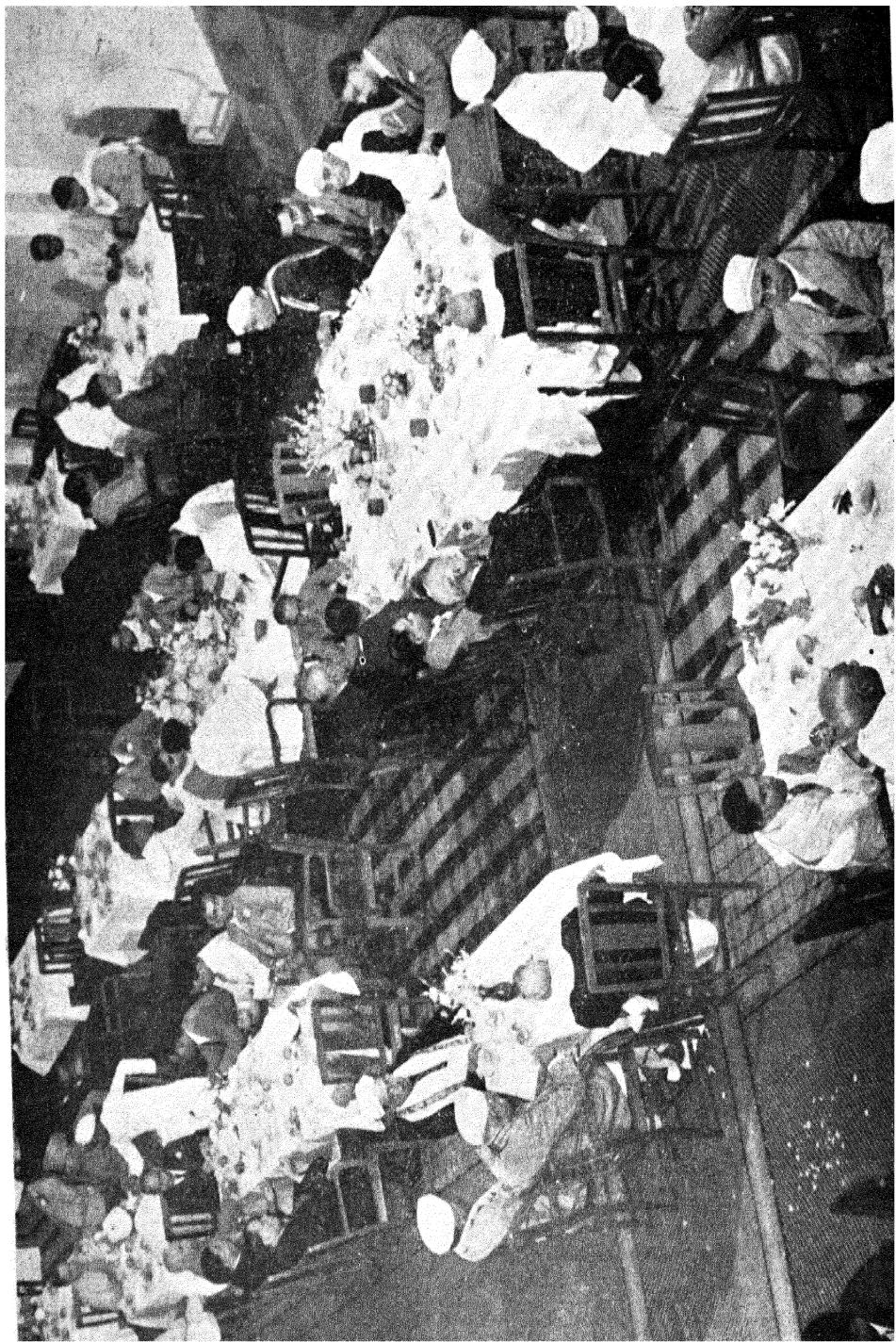
Your Highness, I pray that Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar be admitted to the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws of this University".

His Highness the Chancellor then conferred on Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar the Degree of Doctor of Laws.

Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's Reply

In accepting the honour conferred on him, Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, expressed his acknowledgment of the signal honour that had been conferred on him. He regarded this honour as an inspiration and a stimulus to him for further effort in carrying out the high educational and other ideals with which the Travancore University had been started by command of H. H. the Maharaja. In one of the Upanishads there occurred the saying that it was not by disputation that men attained discernment, but by the wise and regulated guidance of

The Dewan at the People's Garden Party



a teacher. In that spirit had this University been founded. The ideals of this University and its programme were chosen with that purpose. It sought to weld together the best in the East and the best in the West. In that task it had a great part to play and he was confident that it would fulfill it. From antiquity the torch of knowledge and of wisdom had been passed to them. They had to carry it forward, illuminating it with the oil of the modern ideas. That was the purpose of the Travancore University.

Concluding, Sir Ramaswami said that he regarded this honour as a call to him to give his best to the cause which His Highness held so dear. In working for that cause, God willing, he was sure that the University would justify itself.

Civic Honour for the Dewan.

On Saturday the 11th November the Municipality of Trivandrum, the capital city in the State, presented the Dewan with an Address at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall. The Hall and its approaches wore a festive appearance and all available space had been taken up by the elite of the city. There were present some distinguished visitors also. Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar on arrival at the portico was received by the President and members of the Municipal Council with music and conducted to the platform where he took his seat. After a few preliminary items were gone through, Mr. S. Nataraja Pillai, B. A., B. L., one of the non-official Councillors, read the Address which was as follows:—

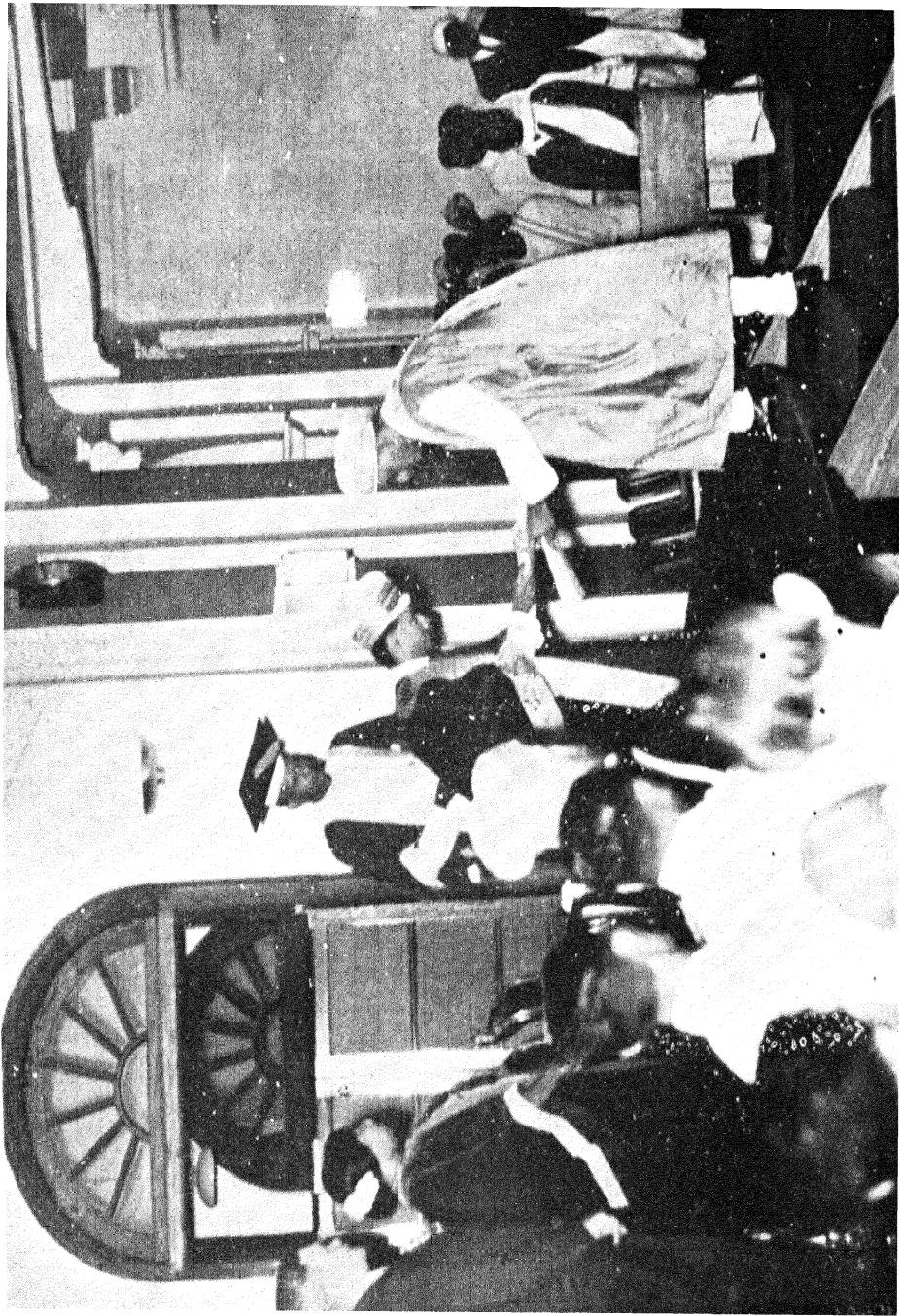
Sir,

We, the President and members of the Municipal Council, Trivandrum, tender you our most hearty felicitations and good wishes on this happy and auspicious occasion of your *Sashtiahda-purthi*.

It is a matter for great pride and joy for us to have been given the privilege of celebrating this unique event in the life of a distinguished son of India whose name and fame have reached distant lands and whose career of arduous endeavour and singular achievements has left indelible memorials in the pages of history. In the fields of law, politics, administration and culture, you have earned a position of eminence which is undisputed, and by your wise counsel and firm and tactful guidance you have rendered signal service to many causes, States and Governments. We are indeed singularly fortunate to have at the head of affairs in this State, as the trusted adviser to our Gracious and well-beloved Sovereign, such a distinguished Statesman, whose thoughts and acts are inspired by feelings of loyalty and patriotism and whose greatest ambition has become the attainment of the spiritual, material and cultural regeneration and advancement of this country.

We are happy to recall your close association with Municipal administration in India and the leading position you enjoyed in the civic life and Government of the city of Madras. Varied have been the capacities in which you have served the Mother-land contributing in every sphere to the progressive realisation of happier and healthier ideals of civic life and democratic Government. Your numerous administrative measures and public utterances, exhorting the people and educating them to a sense of self-realisation of sane and wholesome ideals of life, afford ample evidence of your whole-hearted devotion to your steadfast principles of civic equality and democratic freedom and your readiness to appreciate every endeavour tending to the advancement of the commonweal.

We beg to offer you Sir, our humble tribute of grateful appreciation and sincere admiration for your noble qualities and



The Dewan receiving the Degree of LL. D. from His Highness the Chancellor

high achievements. We pray that God Almighty may bless you with long life, health and happiness, to continue for many many years in your great and selfless task for the increasing prosperity and enhanced glory of the State and its loyal and law-abiding people.

Dewan's Reply.

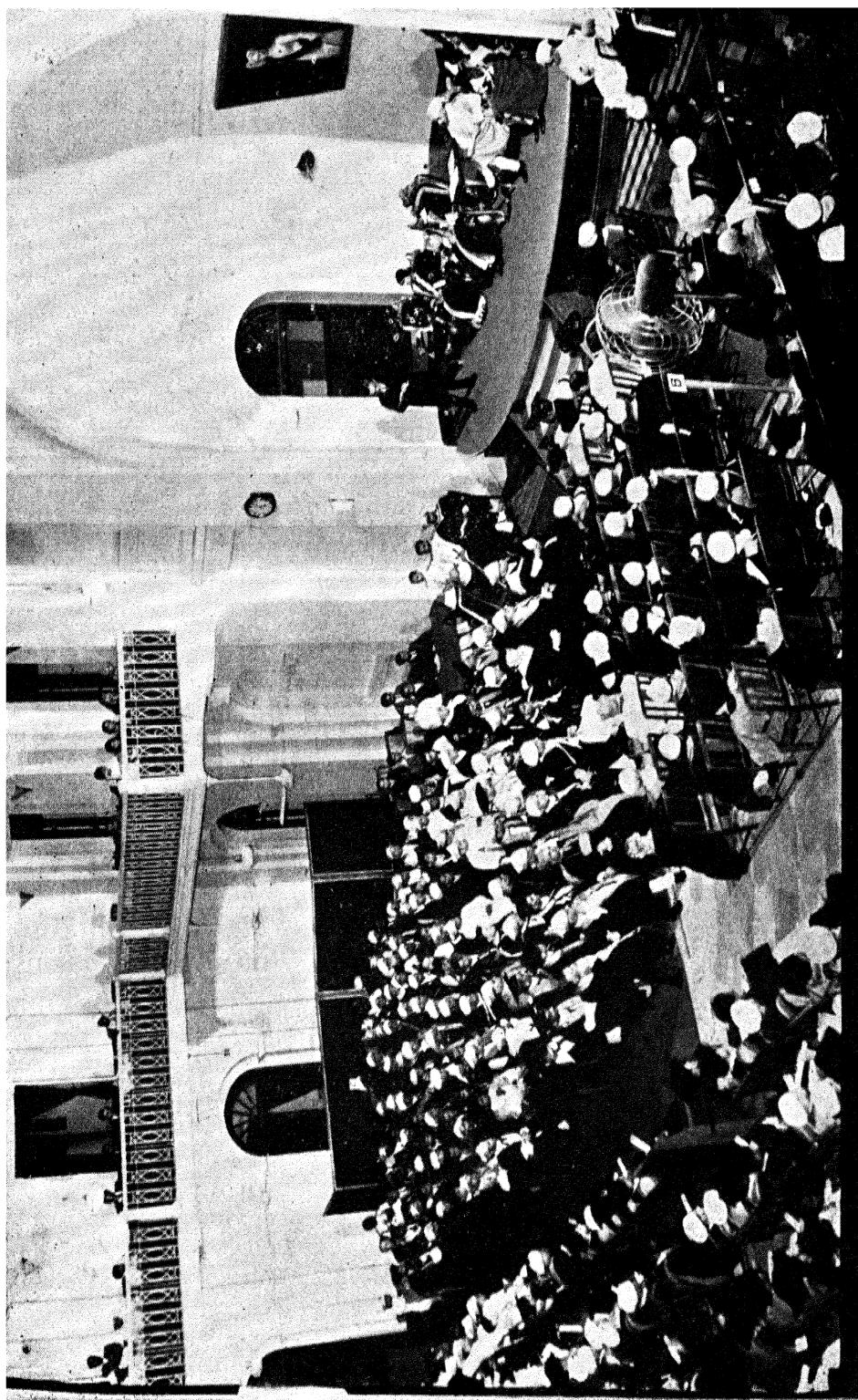
On rising the Dewan was received with deafening cheers and spoke as follows:—

Mr. President, Members of the Trivandrum Municipal Council, Rev. Fathers, ladies and gentlemen,

It were affectation on my part if I did not feel and if I omitted to express the feelings of obligation of sincere thankfulness for honour done to me by the civic representatives of the capital of His Highness' State. You, Sirs, have a difficult and important task ahead of you. The Municipality of Trivandrum has to perform many duties, fulfil many tasks before it can be said to be the worthy capital of His Highness' State. In this connection, I can only refer you to the devoted labours of the Ruler and Administrator of a neighbouring State whose work and whose achievements have made of Bangalore and of Mysore cities beautiful. We, Sirs, in this land have got much more difficult tasks than Mysore. Those who are acquainted with the lay-out of our cities and the configuration of the land, the density of our population, cannot but be struck by the phenomenon that Travancore may be described as one city—if you are complimentarily disposed—one city ranging from Shertallai to Cape Comorin. On the other hand, those who are more realistic may perhaps describe Travancore as an unbroken succession of prosperous and tiny villages. So, in designing your 'city beautiful', you will have to bear in mind these aspects of a country where the differentiation between town and country, between

the urban and the rural is not so clearly distinguished or can be so differentiated as any other (more or less) fortunate land. But in the tasks that lie ahead of you, in the work which you have to perform, I daresay you are all aware of what a cynical but a very thoughtful French writer has declared. His maxim was "cultivons nos Jardins" Let us cultivate our gardens, meaning thereby, let us do our immediate practical work as people are too apt to have dreamy ideals. Humanity must live by ideals and the more distant, the more wonderful, the more entrancing, the more untenable those ideals, the more worthy of endeavour and of venture would be human life; but in the preoccupation with the ultimate and the ideal, we are too often betrayed; and there is a tendency to forget our drainage pipes, and the roads and the obstruction to the roads. .

When you are asked to cultivate your gardens, what is meant is to make provision for parks, lawns, properly conducted museums, and the removal of that congestion which is one of the characteristics of densely populated Travancore and the far too densely populated towns of Travancore. What do you find in Travancore? What has been my advice to you? You find that with the wonderful expanse of seashore we have congregated in what may be described as a valley. It has been my endeavour and my constant desire to see that the city of Trivandrum and other cities similarly situated should profitably and usefully devote their resources and their energies towards the removing of that congestion. I have suggested, for instance, to the Municipality of Trivandrum the extreme gravity and urgency of the problem to spread towards the seaside. I have threatened the High Court with extinction. I have said to the High Court that they would be bodily removed from their present precincts to near the beach where Government land is available. But my powers



Lieut. Col. Murphy addressing the first Convocation of the Travancore University

of persuasion go astray as I am a retired advocate and the Chief Justice will not yield to my wishes. But my ulterior and sinister design in removing the High Court was as follows: Where the High Court goes, the lawyers go; where the lawyers go, the clients go; where the clients go, the house-owner, the renter of house and the coffee hotel keepers go; and my idea was that in this manner with the exile of the High Court a new "legal city" will spring up near the shores of the ocean (*Cheers.*) That would relieve congestion and if you, gentlemen of the Municipality, who are sufficiently unrelenting, sufficiently uncompromising, to see to it that, when the new city comes into existence, it is not a rabbit-warren but satisfies a carefully planned housing scheme with some garden land attached to each house and built in some order with certain perspective and certain ideals, then you would have done a great deal to solve the problem which is very urgent. To achieve this, I have promised even to combat the citadel of justice.

But notwithstanding all your difficulties, your country has an advantage. If you remember what has been done in other corporations in the world, you will realise that what a wise corporation generally does beforehand is to buy the land for the purpose of starting suburb colonics in suitable localities so as to get away from the danger of profiteering on the land by the owner. If the Municipality of Trivandrum and other Municipalities in the State work with that object in view they will find that the Government are not unwilling to help them.

Mr. President and Members of the Municipality, I have a little more to tell you on the subject appertaining to your particular sphere of activity. With the difficulties and handicaps that you are labouring under, you have done splendid work and the Travancore Government have never failed to acknowledge the

assistance that they have derived from corporations like the Municipalities in the State. Sometimes like all of us, there crop up a few differences of opinion. Unless there are differences what family is there which is worth the name? The point is that differences should be there and they should be composed. You have quarrelled with the Government and Government have quarrelled with you and we have been rather sarcastic with each other and finally we have come to terms. In that hope and with that ideal I wish you God speed and all success in your commendable endeavours to make the capital city a metropolis of the State, what it ought to be and what it might be under the blessings of Providence.

Sirs, you have adverted to this occasion. Life is a difficult aspect. It passes through rugged paths. There are ups and downs. Occasions like those to which you have alluded take place. Yes. Our pauses during the climb to the citadel of our dreams and ideals give us the chance to reflect on the nature of the path that has been trodden and will, I trust, nerve us to the task of approaching nearer and nearer that citadel of dreams, yearning for which men of many creeds, of many persuasions, of the many activities, of the many political and social and religious biases and thoughts, are winding their wearied way cheered only by the blessings of Providence.

Dinner by the Saturday Club.

On the eve of his *Sashtiabdapurthi*, i. e. on Thursday the 9th November, Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was entertained at Dinner by the members of the Saturday Club at Padmavilas inside the Fort. It was a cosmopolitan Dinner, covers being laid for about 70 guests among whom were Mr. T. R.

Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., Advocate, Madras, Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan B. A., Editor, *The Indian Review*, Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, B. A., B. L., District and Sessions Judge, Salem, Mr. K. Balasubrahmanyam Aiyar, B. A., B. L., Advocate, Madras, Rao Bahadur C. Ramanujachariar, B. A., B. L., Secretary, Rama-krishna Mission Students' Home, Mylapore, Madras etc.

The distinguished guest of the evening, Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, was received by the prominent members and conducted to the main Hall and some time was spent in conversation. A move was then made to the dining hall where the dinner was given.

Toast to the Chief Guest.

Dinner over, Mr. U. Padmanabha Kukkillaya, M. A., B. L., the Advocate-General, proposed the toast of the Chief Guest. In so doing, he said:—

In offering our congratulations and good wishes to our esteemed guest Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, I think I should avail myself of the excellent chance now afforded to tell him and our other esteemed guests, who we are and what our Club is. We, of the Saturday Club, are proud enough to think that we need no advertisement, and we regard our Club as something that is without a parallel. But in spite of our exalted feeling about ourselves, we are modest enough to realise that others may not know much of us unless we tell them and unless we let them a bit into our secret. And that is what I propose to do now. The first thing I want to tell you is that we feel a sense of a great victory in that we have been able to get our principal guest here to-night. The sense of victory is due to the

where near being old. We want him to continue long in the same state, so that with health, energy and a freshness of outlook which is always his he may long serve the cause of his country—not forgetting the cause of Travancore, which we know he dearly loves.

Those of you that belong to British India have known him longer and perhaps better than we here in Travancore have known him. But to us too his name has long been familiar. We had heard of him as a distinguished lawyer and politician. His contribution to the ordered political development of India is not unknown to us. We know how much he has worked for the emancipation of his country and we all know his brilliant achievements as a member of the Government of Madras and later of the Central Government of India. Even outside India he has brilliantly played the role of the representative of his country. His many-sided activities have earned him a distinguished place in more spheres of life than one. As a public speaker, as a man of letters, as a scholar and lover of the fine arts, his versatility is universally recognized. We in Travancore have now annexed him as one of us and we are proud to think that today we are fellow citizens of Travancore. We have had innumerable opportunities of close contact with him and we have no hesitation to-day, that under his wise and experienced guidance, the onward march of this country to progress and happiness is assured. Passing troubles and carping criticisms leave him unruffled; and his calmness, cheerfulness and unconquered and unconquerable courage under all circumstances are an object of wonder to all that have anything to do with him. He has done much for this country and we hope for much more. There is very little that is good for the country that we cannot hope for and get under the benign rule of His

Gracious Highness the Maharaja aided and helped by the breadth of outlook and the mature wisdom of His Sachivothama. If, by a stroke of the pen, the age long curse of untouchability and unapproachability could be banished from the land, what is it that is not possible of achievement ?

I thank our visitors in the name of the Club for their response to our invitation and request you all to join me in congratulating our esteemed chief guest on the completion of his sixtieth year and wishing him a long and happy future, loved by all and esteemed by all.

Presentation of a Souvenir.

Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M. A., in requesting Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to accept the present from them, spoke as follows :—

Sir—The members of the Saturday Club were very keen on giving you a present which may serve as a (*Souvenir*) of this occasion. The Convener told us that anything expensive would be frowned upon. So we had to rack our brains to choose something which would be both cheap and appropriate. The Convener came to our rescue. He suggested that as our Club is known as “The Sappat Club” (*Laughter*), it would be most appropriate to present you with a specially made dining plank on this occasion. A word about our Convener. Though in his official capacity he is the Private Secretary to the Dewan, in his capacity as Convener of the Saturday Club, his ways are neither private nor secret (*Laughter*). You will notice that our Club has no President, no Secretaries and no Committee. It has got only a Convener who is our Feuhrer. What he says, goes. We rebel against him and his decisions, but our rebellion is of no avail. In fact, we have passed several resolutions winding up

the Saturday Club, but the Club goes on from week to week in spite of ourselves and owing almost entirely to the determination and drive of the Convener (*Laughter*). I must admit, however, that there was little or no opposition to this particular suggestion of the dining plank which emanated from him. In fact, it was a very happy conception and the Club is very grateful to the Convener for having conceived this happy idea (*Hear, hear*). After seeing the work, its neatness and finish, we are fully convinced that our Convener hit upon the right choice and, on behalf of the Club, I offer him our hearty congratulations. At first, only one plank was thought of. But the Saturday Club, though it chafes and writhes under the tyranny of the Convener, did not like to be sat upon even by so eminent a person as the Dewan (*Laughter*). So it was decided to have two planks, one for you to sit upon and the other to lean upon, the figurative meaning being that when you feel annoyed with the Saturday Club, you will sit upon it, and when you need our assistance, which is extremely unlikely, you will lean upon it (*Laughter*). I have great pleasure in requesting you, Sir, to accept the two planks which the Club is presenting to you as a humble (*Souvenir*) on the occasion of your *Sashtiabdapurthi* (*Cheers*).

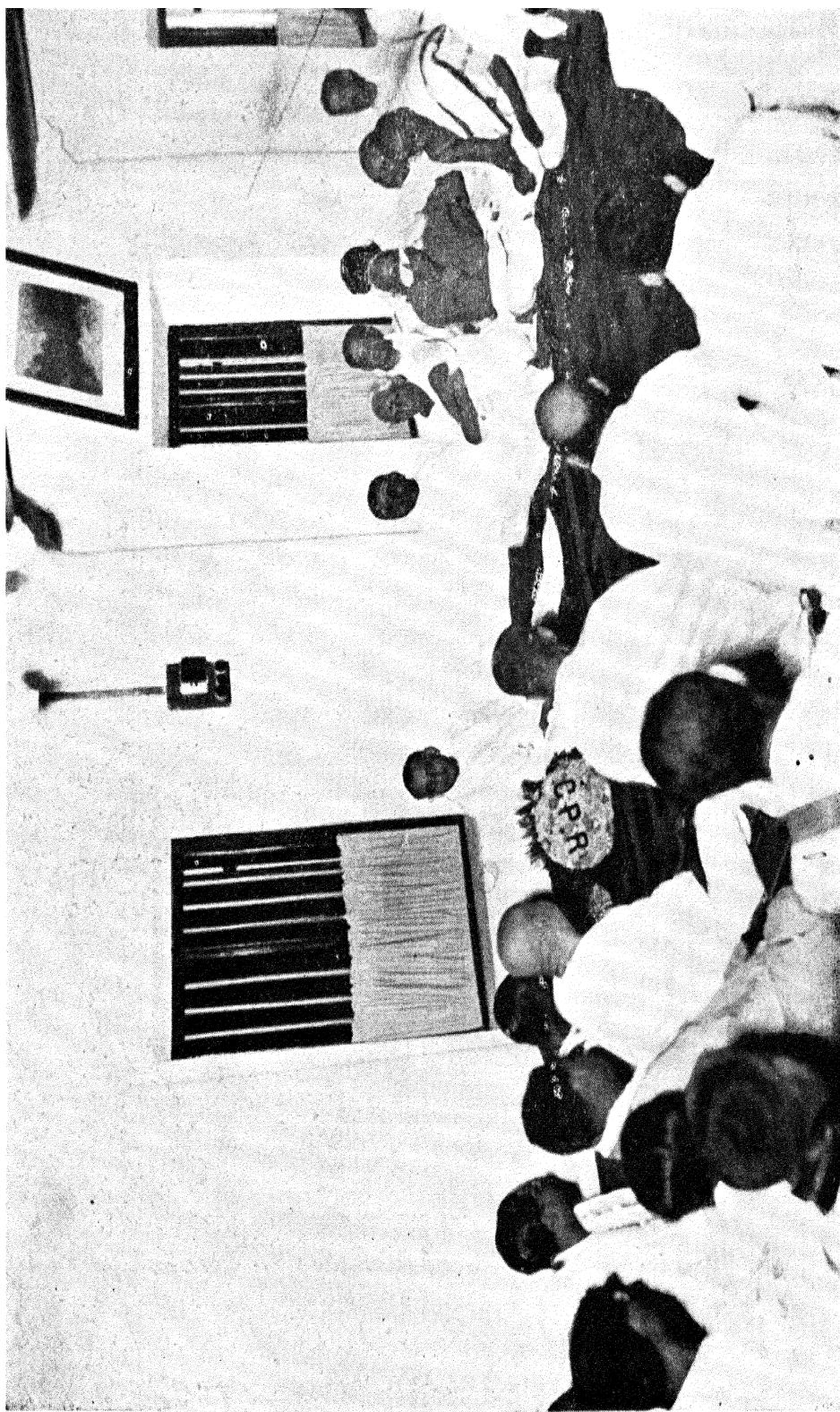
Sir Ramaswami Aiyar's Reply.

Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar replied as follows :

My Friends of the Saturday Club and my fellow guests,

My prevailing sentiment at this moment is one of complete mystification. I am not using the language of convention when I say that I am literally overwhelmed by the cordiality of the reception and the catholicity of the entertainment. Something was said by the first speaker, my friend Mr. Kukilliya, whom I trouble more often than I need, because I believe that a lawyer who relies upon his own legal instincts in dealing with questions

The Dewan among the members of the Saturday Club



of administration is pursuing a dangerous path. I summon him to my aid and he is responsible for much more iniquity than is generally known. The first speaker in the course of his remarks referred to himself and his colleagues as 'rebels.' I did not know till then that, in spite of the great repressive policy of the Travancore Government (*Laughter*) and the recent introduction of specific measures in India to deal with rebels, such a survival not only existed and persisted, but brought itself so prominently to the notice of the head of the administration, relying perhaps upon the factor of human psychology that, if you make yourself sufficiently familiar, then there is no need or chance for any attack. But these reflections apart, if by being a social rebel it is meant that the Saturday Club is original in the sense that idleness and gastronomic proficiency are its patents and that outside the sacred arena of the precincts, fleeting, temporary and evanescent, of the Saturday Club, those two great motive factors in human life—idleness and stomach—do not exist then the Club is laying a flattering unction to its soul which it does not deserve. When I was invited to participate in this very pleasant function I did not know what the Saturday Club was and I shall presently explain the reasons why. The Saturday Club met on Sundays. I believe that is a fact. In the early stages of a person's Latin education he is taught a certain logical formula which styles itself *Lucis a non lucendo*. A certain entity is called *lucus* because it does not shine. Your Club is called Saturday Club because it does not meet on Saturdays. Well, I knew of some mysterious body that flitted from house to house and whose activities were revealed on Monday morning and, therefore, when I was invited by the Saturday Club, I felt there must be some reason for that designation. You know Saturn is called *Saneeswara*, i. e., "slow mover." Did the members of the Saturday Club desire to put a brake upon themselves and on the

progress of the country by interposing their gastronomic proclivities and thereby developing the retarding power which is already in existence in an abundant measure not only here but elsewhere? No. That explanation was dismissed as soon as it was propounded, because I knew amongst the members of the Saturday Club are hard-worked people whose outer labours belied that name and that attribute. But it is a common human failing that you attribute to yourself just those qualities which you do not possess. I am reminded in this instance of a story in Don Quixote where it is stated that an elderly and somewhat senile and progressively declining poet had a Private Secretary. The Private Secretary's function was—I do not mean any personal reference—(*Laughter*) to say at the end of the recitation of the day's poem that that poem excelled all his previous productions, and so he retained his job and went on from glory to glory. But one day his sense of veracity or his critical literary judgment overcame his discretion and his prudence, and with a marvellously courageous deprecatory gesture, he had the temerity to tell his master "I think, Sir, that this composition is slightly below your usual level." Thereupon he was immediately given the order of dismissal; but if the man had said that he never wrote a better poem than this, he would have been pleased and Sancho Panza narrates this story to show that the best way of pleasing a man is to flatter him for qualities in which he is deficient.

Therefore, I suppose the Saturday Club, when it began its eventful existence in Travancore, composed as it was of the hard-worked lawyer, the Chief Secretary, the Scientist, who did something more than mix Ambalapuzha *Palpayasm* and *Rasam*—whether it is a spare time research of the Director of Research or the main research of that gentleman, I do not say just now,

but will wait until I see the next file from him—I came to the conclusion that perhaps these very busy people wanted to attribute to themselves that quality of idleness which they wanted, by a kind of transferred epithet, ascribed to themselves so that they might be happier in mind. After all, that is not very rare. It was many years ago that I read in one of Robert Louis Stevenson's essays on idleness—the real quality and efficacy of idleness. What he said in that little essay was this; that he studied in the Edinburgh University and went through a course of science and of medicine and that all that he remembered of that study was that empheteusis and stillicide were not diseases or crimes. Empheteusis is a variety of land tenure in Roman Law and stillicide is a drainage pipe and he said "unfortunately the net result of my life is that I grudge every hour of active existence of so-called active study and action in the outer world and I cherish only those moments of idleness, of lackadaisical wanderings in stray fields and under open skies. These have been my great education." I say to you, gentlemen of the Saturday Club, if it is really your object and ideal to inculcate the cult of true idleness you will be performing a great human service. We are apt to be too busy, always to be immersed in our occupations and preoccupations of the moment, to the detriment of that wider outlook, that detachment from the worries and troubles of every day, without which no proper perspectives are available or possible. If, therefore, your Club has for its main ideal the cult of idleness in that sense then you are indeed doing a great public service.

Then I come to the gastronomic aspect of your activity. Now owing to the persuasiveness, malign persuasiveness need I say, of the Saturday Club, I, who am bound by some kind of religious convention to fast tonight, have come amongst you and

have enjoyed a double privilege not only of breaking my vows in defiance of tomorrow's function but also of enjoying not only a fine repast including Ambalapuzha *Palpayasam* minus the curd and also of witnessing the exploits of the Saturday Club. Now I must be frank albeit I may be uncomplimentary. Some of us guests really out-did you, our hosts (*Laughter*) and if you want to convince me that your strenuous apprenticeship in the noble art of gastronomic fulfilment has yielded any fine result, then I must say that members of the Saturday Club must serve an apprenticeship under the guests of 'to-day' (*Laughter*). Those are the two main aspects which you have put before this gathering, and I have indicated to my hosts what I feel about these two qualities.

Diverging for a moment from the activities and the aspirations of the Saturday Club, let me come to my real business: that of thanking the members for the cordiality of their welcome, although I am a non-member. In the course of his remarks Mr. Advocate-General made some references to me. He does not know how idle I am and can be, and he does not know that I can give a good account of myself in regard to the main activity (*Laughter*) but he spoke of other things. This is neither the time nor the occasion when I can allow myself to be biographical or auto-biographical or reminiscent but to this extent I am at one with Mr. Kukilliya. I have come amongst the people of Travancore against the counsel of some of my friends elsewhere and entirely opposed by my domestic circle. One of my sons was very indignant with me, because I was under a promise to him to take him to Delhi and train him up for the Federal Court, that wonderful court which is dealing with half a case in the year. But it is not often that a man who has had certain administrative and other public experience has a chance of serving a Sovereign who has dedicated himself utterly and entirely to the

welfare of the people, whose destinies are committed to his charge and whose constant sympathy and whose stimulus and inspiration are no small things. To be given a chance of functioning in a country where nature has been abundantly beneficent, where providence has blessed the people with acuteness of intellect and strenuousness of mind, to bring that State to the condition which is desiderated by the Sovereign is no small thing, and having been given the chance, I took it. There is a Spanish proverb that you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs. To those who are unaccustomed to these expressions I might explain that the omelette is a kind of *bhajy* made of eggs, and one of the main ingredients of the omelette is a number of eggs broken and mixed and various condiments added and hence the Spanish proverb. The art of Government is like the art of making omelettes, and breakages do now and then occur. Such breakages may take many forms. Such breakages may take the form of the fracture of one's own ideals, the elimination of one's own better impulses for the sake of serving the immediate, the temporary, the transient, the occasional purpose. Such a fracture is one to be avoided. The breakage on the other hand might be the breakage of friendship and alliance in the past in pursuit of ideals we hold, but so long as there is sincerity and desire to serve, that kind of breakage can be mended. It is in that spirit that I have started to work. But the credit for that work goes not to me but to those who have worked with me as colleagues in the various departments of Government, to those non-officials to whom I owe a great deal and above all, and supremely, to Their Highnesses, but for whose constant encouragement and enveloping kindness I could not have begun at all.

I have practically done. I thank you, my friends, for having summoned me here, a stranger amongst you, and I note

with curiosity in passing that I have not been even asked to become a member (*Laughter*). But that apart, I am very deeply indebted to you for the signal honour. Apparently you have given up your exclusive ideas and instead of confining yourself to those masonically bound unto you by ties of Saturn, have invited amongst you men who own no allegiance to that erratic planet. On behalf of my fellow guests and myself let me felicitate you on the brilliance of your function, and on the catholicity of your hospitality (*Applause*).

At the Sri Mulam Club.

The Sri Mulam Club, Trivandrum, gave a party to Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall on the 15th November in connection with his *Sashtiabdapurthi*. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, the President of the Club, spoke on the occasion as follows: . . .

Fellow Members,

We have gathered here in such large numbers to do honour to Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and to felicitate him on the occasion of his *Sashtiabdapurthi*. We could not meet at our own Club premises as every thing there now is at sixes and sevens, not socially but in the material sense, on account of the new building that is now under construction. Socially, we continue to be a very happy family, quarrelling at the bridge table and quaffing draughts of the suspicious and sanguinary concoction of the Club which is known as "Chukku Vellam" (*Laughter*). We are welcoming Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to-day not as a stranger or outsider; but as one of us, our most distinguished Life Member. The Club rejoices in this fact and as the President, it is my great privilege to congratulate him on behalf of the Club on the occasion of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* and

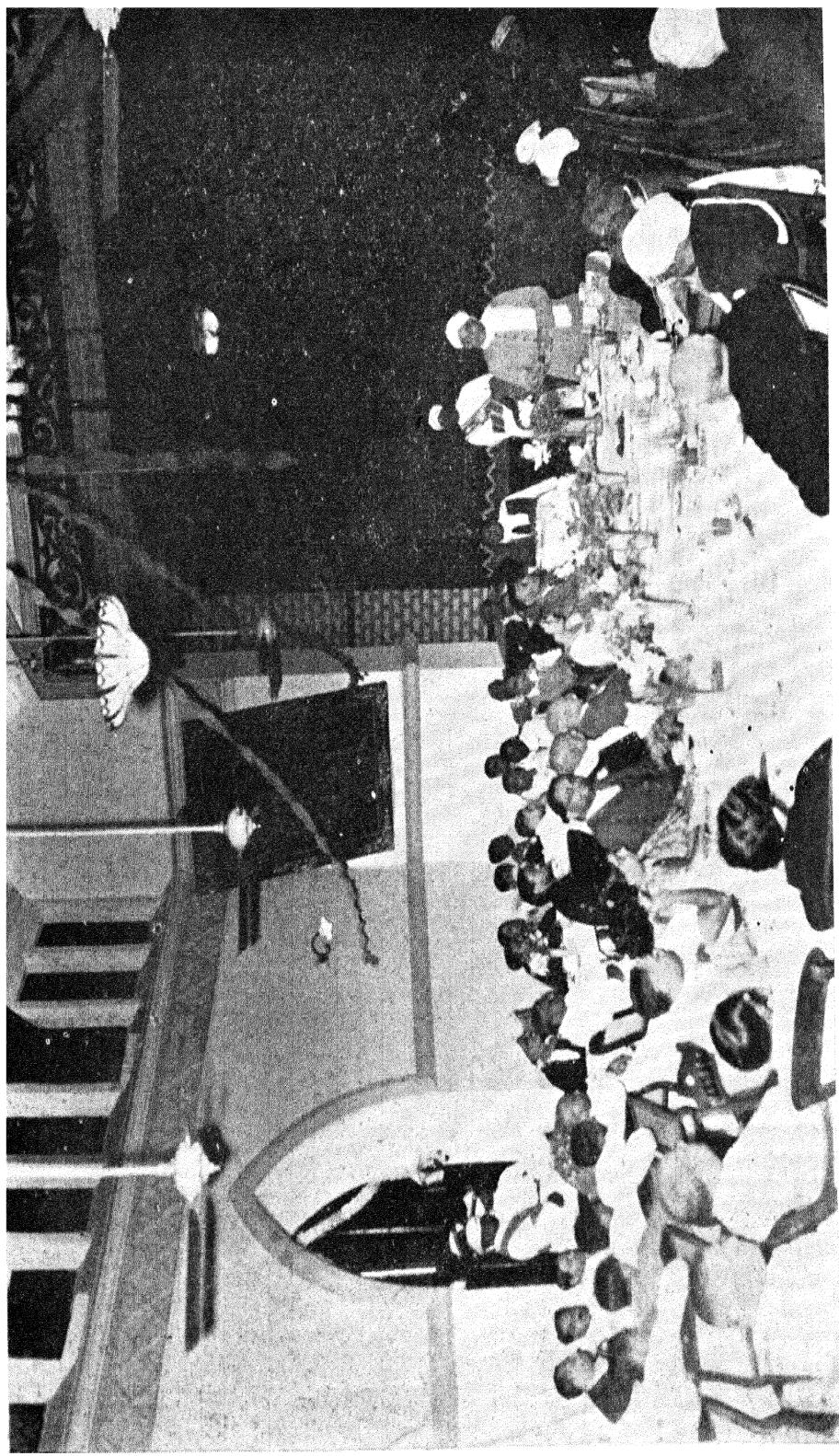
to convey to him our very best wishes for his long life, happiness and prosperity (*Cheers*). Having said this, I should probably resume my seat; but there are one or two matters to which I would like to invite the attention of our Life Member. Though it is now more than three months since he became a Life Member, he has not visited the Club even once (*Laughter*). I am not complaining. I am only stating the fact and I am doing so not because the Club has anything to offer him, but we have to gain much by his visits, however rare and occasional they may be. The older members will bear me out when I say that the life of the Club was enriched and invigorated in the days of the late Sir P. Rajagopalachari and Dewan Bahadur T. Raghavaiah, C. S. I., who, as Dewans, used to pay frequent visits to the Club. Though there are nearly 200 members now, only 30 or 40 people come to the Club fairly regularly and I am sure that the fact that the Dewan visits the Club occasionally will make a considerable difference in this respect. I hope the Dewan will not think that I am trying to exploit his name and position in the interests of the Club. I repeat that the Club has much to gain by his visits. I am sure the Club house will be crowded to listen to his discourses on the numerous topics which he can handle brilliantly,—international affairs or the mysterious universe or economic planning or mendelism or relativity. I can easily arrange for half-hour discourses if only he could find the time and the convenience. Or again, the art of conversation is sadly undeveloped among us and few of you know what a sparkling conversationalist Sir C. P. is. And after all, Sir, we can also offer you some thing if you would care for it. I have heard that you were a very skilful tennis player at one time. You might resume your tennis at the Club. Or we can offer you billiards, a game with which I presume, you are not unfamiliar. And above all, there is bridge (*Laughter*). Now, Sir, the practice

of bridge makes one “subtle” as Bacon said of Mathematics. Sir James Jeans said that to learn to play bridge is a liberal education (*Laughter*). Now, Sir, if you will condescend to become my pupil (*Laughter*), I promise to be a good teacher and never to lose my temper which, I am afraid, is rather uncertain at the bridge table (*Laughter*). We have followed your advice—the valuable advice which you gave us, on the occasion of your laying the foundation stone of our new building—and admitted lady members on the same terms as men. We have even given them the right to vote without their asking for it (*Laughter*). But the experiment has not been successful so far. Only a handful of ladies have now become members. I am assured that, when the new building is ready—it is progressing rapidly under the care and supervision of our Chief Engineer Mr. M. K. Nilakanta Aiyar (*Laughter*)—a large addition to our list of women members may be confidently expected. In our new building, we are providing special accommodation for lady members and also a children’s room. Before I close, let me once again thank you for accepting our invitation and extend to you our heartiest greetings and best wishes. May all your plans for enhancing the prosperity and glory of Travancore be crowned with success. May it be given to you to remould Travancore nearer to your heart’s desire” (*Cheers*).

The Dewan’s Reply.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, replying said, *inter alia*: Mr. Chandrasekharan, ladies and gentlemen: it is well-known that the scorpion’s sting is in its tail. I was reminded of this phenomenon when I listened to the speech of my friend, the President of the Sri Mulam Club. It was very pleasing to me to be told that this function was being got out of the abundance of the good nature and the generosity of the members of the Sri Mulam

Mr. Devan replying to the Address of the Sri Mulan Club



Club who desired to honour and pay compliments, mainly gustatory in character, to a fellow-member. I came in, therefore, full of hopes and I must say that up to the moment when Mr. Chandrasekharan got up on his hind legs (*prolonged laughter*), that hope was amply fulfilled because I saw bright, cheerful, happy faces all around me and Mr. Chandrasekharan himself was very healthy, and well ~~set~~ up. Therefore, I had made up my mind mainly to felicitate the members of the Club on the happy family idea which had developed so thoroughly and satisfactorily and to resume my seat. But what has happened? In the course of the speech, many hopes, many terrors have been held out. One of these is a compulsory tuition in contract bridge. My memories of bridge are overwhelming. It was about forty years ago that as a very junior and a very timorous young and respectable lad, I went to Sir Seshadri Aiyar's house in Bangalore where a bridge party was in progress. I may here mention for your information that Sir Seshadri Aiyar was one of the earliest proponents or propagandists of that game. What used to be of special attraction to me was the fried potatos placed by the side of each person who was present to play or witness the game. Attracted primarily by this, I, for my sake, joined the bridge party, in a moment of great jubilation. In another moment of great rashness I accepted an invitation to have the tuition conducted. The self-constituted tutor was Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar, then Inspector-General of Police in Mysore, and who later became Member of Council. Mr. Ayyangar, I may add, was a man of even shorter temper than Mr. Chandrasekharan. I tried and played for a day or two. When I lifted my hand came suddenly the objection, "that ought not to be done at a bridge table." If I looked round, came the remark, "You must concentrate." If I did something, or played something, I was told, "That is wrong". Then, a couple of days later I met him

in an evening walk. And he asked me, "what did you do the other day. It was such good game but you did this or played that", and so on. This exhumation of the credits of the bridge achievements of the past, this post-mortem, was of such a character that from that very day to this I have abandoned bridge; deliberately and of set design.

Not content with this, my friend Mr. Chandrasekharan lured me to a course of lectures. And in the eve of my life, he tempted me with the possibility of reviving my tennis. It is true I used to play tennis many years ago, and used to steal away from my class and practise tennis for the tournament at 1.30 p. m. But the tennis of those days was a series of gentle, soft volleys which, compared with that of a girl's performance today, is like a tornado. If I attempted tennis in the Sri Mulam Club today, probably I will get defeated by its youngest lady member. So, these are the attractions held out to me. But, I know Mr. Chandrasekharan will not do such things which he threatened me with. I also know that his bark is worse than his bite. But he had the temerity of charging me with not attending the Club, after laying the foundation stone for its new building. I can let you share a secret. I was never invited (*Laughter*).

Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan : You can come there by right.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar : On an after thought, my friend now suggests that life members do not require an invitation. You must make preparations and invite me. Otherwise I will be unduly critical and make you uncomfortable. So, that charge cannot stand. You invite me and see whether I come or not. That is all I desire to speak on that aspect.

Proceeding Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said : I express my thanks to the President and Members of the Sri Mulam

Club for the honour they have done me and for the manner in which they have expressed their kindly sentiments here. I am deeply touched and am particularly grateful to the President who spoke what he intended. Now, what is a Club? A Club is an instrument for blackening out people and a Club should be an instrument for flattening out the recuberations, mental and psychological, of people making them on a level with others, forgetting their ranks, status, position and history and tradition and come amongst their fellowmen just like fellow-beings, intending upon making the hour pass wholesomely. It was said that the Hero was one whose manner of life is to bear with everybody's harms, to comply with the inclinations of those whom he met and conversed, to contradict nobody, never to assume superiority over others. This I thought was a very apt description of a Hero, and is applicable to what may be called Club life and the Club attitude of man. It is no good going to the Club as a superior being, but to conceive and make himself a pleasant being. I hope that the Sri Mulam Club will be a real source and a real nucleus of social activities, of social life. After all, what we require is a certain courtesy of manner, certain amount of politeness. These are things which make life sweeter. So may I trust that the members of the Sri Mulam Club will justify its existence and that the life members and women members may become sociable and the heart's desires of Mr. Chandrasekharan fulfilled subject to certain qualifications and conditions on which I do not wish to dilate at this moment. (*Loud Cheers*).

The Secretariat Association Dinner.

The Secretariat Association gave a dinner in honour of the Dewan. The toast was proposed by Mr. M. K. Nilakanta Ai yar

the Chief Secretary, who spoke thus :—

“ This is indeed a very happy occasion. I am more happy than I can express that you have honoured us by accepting our invitation to dine with us to-night. Let me, in the first place, thank you, Sir, for affording us this opportunity of paying you our humble and sincere tribute of esteem and affection. We request you to accept our warmest congratulations on your *Sashtiabdapurthi*. ”

We, of your Secretariat, Sir, one and all of us, from the lowest to the highest, are proud of the privilege of being associated with your distinguished regime. We shall ever look upon with particular satisfaction to the days we have spent and hope to spend as members of your Secretariat.

We are perhaps last but certainly not least in offering our greetings and felicitations in connection with your *Sashtiabdapurthi*. The reason for our tardiness is that we simply could not get a chance. Never before, except in celebrations connected with His Highness the Maharaja and the Royal Family, have such scenes of enthusiasm been witnessed in Travancore. All communities, both great and small, have vied with one another in celebrating your *Sashtiabdapurthi*. There was not a village in Travancore where people did not assemble to celebrate the occasion. The people, without distinction of class, caste or creed, have expressed their grateful appreciation of your work; innumerable addresses each bearing the good wishes of a village or a group, have been showered on you.

About 9 Hospital Wards, 4 Parks, 3 Town Halls, 3 Libraries and 2 Reading Rooms, Leper Asylums, Poor Homes, a High School and a Sattram in the Metropolis ; these have been established or,

are proposed to be established to commemorate the *Sashtiabdaþpurthi* of one whom Travancore is fortunate to have to guide her destinies. These bear eloquent testimony to the spontaneous and genuine rejoicings that took place in Travancore—unimitable manifestations of the esteem in which you are held by the people.

That the people of Travancore are gratefully and intelligently appreciative of your statesmanship, that they have implicit confidence in your administration, and that their willing co-operation is at your disposal, have been proved beyond the possibility of doubt. We, in this State, Sir, are aware that you are devoting all your rare gifts, all your talents, all your energies to carrying out the lofty ideals of His Highness the Maharaja and thereby to steer Travancore to greater glories.

I may be permitted to hazard the hope that perhaps those interested may have had their eyes opened by these rejoicings. In any case, few will now doubt that the question whether you have ill-served Travancore or well-served Travancore has been settled once for all. You remain the most trusted and the most loyal Minister of His Highness the Maharaja; and one of the most popular and well-intentioned Dewans that Travancore has seen.

May God shower upon you His Choicest Blessings! May you, Sir, long continue to guide the destinies of Travancore, enjoying in full measure the confidence of His Highness and the co-operation of the people.

They also presented an Address which was as follows:—
Most Respected Sir,

“ We, the President and Members of the Secretariat Association, beg to offer you our warm greetings and most sincere felicitations on the happy occasion of your *Sashtiabdaþpurthi*.

We feel we shall be failing in our duty if we omit to make special mention of the almost exclusive and special privilege, which in your extreme generosity, kindness, and affection for the officers and staff of your office you have been graciously pleased to grant us, of dining with you and presenting to you in person this humble token of our most sincere regard, esteem and affection for you, our great and noble Patron.

Sir, it is not for us, members of your own official household, to enumerate *in extenso* your numerous and varied achievements as shaper of the destinies of this happy State; because, our relationship with you is unique. But we cannot resist the temptation to express our extreme pride at the wonderful manifestations throughout the length and breadth of Travancore, on this historic occasion of our Patron's *Sashtiabdapurthi*. This is a landmark in Travancore history. The universal nature of the rejoicings which have transcended religious, communal and sectarian proclivities, and the very useful institutions which your *Sashtiabdapurthi* has given birth to in even the remotest corners of the State, prove to the hilt that, in service to the country in any event, you are more a Travancorean than any Travancorean. We, who every day taste your extreme kindness and generosity, and who have been made to realise that our interests are quite safe in your hands, are overwhelmed with joy at the epoch-making celebrations and commemorations on this occasion of your *Shashtiabdapurti*. In your youthful energy to turn out, at electric speed, the maximum quantity of fruitful intellectual work of the highest quality, as in ever so many other matters, you are our exemplar and ideal.

May God Almighty grant us, in you, a Centenarian Patron of perfect health and life-long youthful energy, all devoted to service to God, Crown and Country.

Dewans' Reply.

The Dewan in reply said:—

Mr. Nilakanta Aiyar and Friends,

We have had two varieties of feasts. We came here and, by way of addition to the number of contributory causes to indigestion which I have enjoyed—I dare not say endured—these many days, the kindness of my colleagues of the Secretariat treated me first to what has been aptly termed a sumptuous feast. And, the man advancing in years, after that feast, naturally desires or ought to desire to recline and take his rest and ease. But that was not to be the case.

My friend to my left started reading an address; my friend to my right improvised another address and here I am asked to respond to what I cannot but call a very generous appreciation of the age that has descended upon the Head of the Administration and the frequent references to *Sashti.ibdapurthi*. The centenarian terrors which are held out before me have reminded me of a *sloka* in the *Raghuvamsa* where, describing the advancing age in the case of an ancient emperor of India, the great poet Kalidasa in the second half of one of his stanzas says that old age, in the shape of greying hairs about the temple, whispers into the ear of the man who is growing old that the times are getting near to his end. Now any of you who has noticed my physiognomical peculiarities could see that that symptom described by Kalidasa has really taken place. That is evident in my case; and with that symptom so abundant and so obvious, one does not know whether to greet these anticipations, or threats, with gladness or with forebodings. But I take all these statements *cum granosalis* with a grain of salt or rather, may I say with bushels of salt? It

appears to me that I hardly deserve what, in the exuberance of your thoughts and the generosity of your outlook, you have been pleased to offer to me. I have been, as you know, connected with many Secretariats as a victim and as a master. During my non-official days, I was the subject of many elaborate notes in the Secretariat which in the mysterious dispensations of Providence, it fell to me to read afterwards as one of the Heads of that Secretariat. I am referring to the Madras Secretariat, Simla Secretariat and also—as I was put on special duty for certain work in the India Office—the Whitehall Secretariat. I have worked in all those Secretariats in both capacities and have given work to the clerks, Superintendents, Secretaries and ultimately to the Heads of the Departments. It has been also my good fortune to have worried the Secretariat in another capacity. It was my singular good fortune due to a variety of chances that I was a non-official member and also the Leader of the House in many Legislatures in India. The result of it was that I know exactly the trouble which the Secretariat clerk can derive from a non-official member, with the questions and interpellations; and I am fully aware of the slight petulances and exhibitions of temper which men in office show towards mere non-officials putting questions and sending up interpellations. I have also exhibited the same temper myself when I took up in another capacity in dealing with these questions, interpellations and so forth. So I do know something about Secretariats. I have already said—and I am saying it again not merely for the purpose of conventionality—that, for sheer intellectual output, the Travancore Secretariat can compare not unfavourably with any Secretariat in which and with which I have worked (*Cheers*). But before you begin to clap your hands, I think you ought to bear in mind one or two things; and that is, all Secretariats have one common and ineradicable tendency. I might describe it thus. About a

fort-night after I assumed charge as Member of the Council in Madras, a friend of mine asked me what I felt like. I said that every day I felt like a man on the brink of a precipice. The notes of the Secretariat are so thorough, so full, so exhaustive, so crammed with perfectly relevant and sometimes slightly irrelevant exhibitions of erudition and of information, and every Superintendent, Assistant Secretary, Secretary and Chief Secretary writes his note in the full consciousness and in the hope that his note is so very good and so convincing that all that the Member or the Dewan need do is merely to append his initials (*Laughter*). Very often the Dewan does that. Therefore, the position of a person confronted by these arrayed mass of intelligence and well-directed enthusiasm for noble things is that, unless he keeps fairly clear his eyes before him, he will be thrown into the precipice; and so I told my friend that I always have an effort to jump back from the notes into the facts. I am mentioning this not for the purpose of reproaching this Secretariat, because I prefaced my remarks by stating that this is the tendency and a very welcome tendency in all Secretariats. There is another aspect of the matter which Secretariats exhibit generally; and there again I am speaking not with a view to cast a stone but merely in order to indicate the generally human tendency with which we must count, that is, the battledoor and shuttle cock method. In other words, when a question is raised, the Assistant Secretaries suggest that perhaps the matter might be referred to the Advocate-General. Sometimes, it is easy to call a particular legal proposition with which the much-tired Advocate-General is confronted. Then the Advocate-General gives his opinion. Next the Secretariat thinks that his opinion might be somewhat bettered and so suggests "why not refer it to another person say, the Federation Officer", Sometimes the conflicting opinions of the Federation Officer, the Advocate-General and the Secretariat

come to harass the Chief Secretary. He suggests a conference (*Laughter*). Between the Dewan and the Chief Secretary they avoid letting other people know what exactly they are thinking about; because out of this conference something might evolve which might give possibilities of decision which for the time being they are unable to make. This is a very fine idea taken all together and analysed carefully because it prevents what may be called hastiness of decision and also enables one to see all-round. It is very fine to be able to do so. But human affairs have got a faculty of asking for immediate decisions and also people have now and then to come to decisions; otherwise it will be like the station master in a far off station in the Bengal Province who on a particular day sent a frantic telegram to the Traffic Superintendent "tiger jumping on platform wire instructions" (*Laughter*). The Traffic Superintendent sitting in the fastness of his office at Calcutta had to give an answer. He had not dealt with that particular problem of a station master retiring inside his room while a tiger was roaming about the platform. It is reported that his answer was "shoot or run" (*Laughter*). Decisions of that sudden and slightly catastrophic character have to be taken by persons on certain occasions; and one of my terrible drawbacks is that I am rather too impatient of these methods; not because I do not concede the value of these methods of introspection and circumspection and careful thought all round, but because human life is short and certain things have got to be done; and there are many things which will not wait.

I will give you an instance merely to hearten the members of the Travancore Secretariat. I was concerned at one moment of my career in what is now called the 'Mettur Project'. That project had been worked in full detail by Sir Arthur Cotton just 85 years before I began to handle the file. And during those 85 years, there must have been 50 conferences on the subject,

references to the Board of Revenue, general opinions of all the District Magistrates and Collectors, references backwards and forwards to the Government of India and a few references to the Secretary of State. You will be interested to know that there are certain processes elsewhere of disposal of files which are happily not familiar here. There was a very eminent Member of Council who was an extraordinarily able man, quick in the uptake, but ineradicably lazy. He had a splendid way of dealing with the files. Wherever he could not initial or say 'yes' or 'no' and had to study the matter he used to put the file under his bed. Next day he would call for an explanation as to where the file was. Then the Secretariat would begin to look or ransack the records; and it will be reported that the file was submitted to the Hon'ble Member. Some clerk would then be suspended. But the file would be under the bed all the time. It so happened that, when he retired at the end of five years after meritorious service and the under-the-bed process, there were 42 files found underneath the mattress.

I fear that sometimes files might begin to be missing that way here also from tomorrow. But I am only mentioning it as an anecdote, a kind of chronicle, for the purpose of enabling the Secretaries or the junior functionaries not to imitate that example.

When I came here I made up my mind to advise His Highness to deal with the problem which to my mind struck as a most immediate and urgent problem before the country, namely, to make this country rich in as quick and speedy a manner as possible. I found that side by side with that considerably cultivated intelligence, the economic position of the people was pitiful in the extreme. The riches of the country were there but were not utilised. It was, therefore, incumbent on

me to take such measures as would speed up the process. Every one knows that haste makes waste and that a little more circumspection and circumlocution and delay might perhaps be better. But we have to work against time; and if I have been somewhat impatient or intolerant, I hope to be pardoned by my colleagues—as I conceive all of you to be. I do feel that in your hands and mine rest the formulation, the initiation, the development, the evolution and the culmination of those projects and those schemes designed to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, designed to industrialise this country, designed profoundly to improve the economic status and outlook of the country. We must all feel that, unless that process is done betimes, there would be many disruptive influences, catastrophic ideals, many dangers and breakers ahead of us and would overwhelm us. In a fairy tale, the white queen is supposed to have said "If you have to stand still in this world, you must run very fast; otherwise you are caught up, and left behind". If we have to maintain our position in the world, the world at large and the world in India, we have to go very fast; and in that, I confidently expect the members of the Secretariat, true to their tradition, true to their culture and upbringing and true to their sense of patriotism, to work as rowers of the same boat. You know that, if one oar goes amiss, the boat might capsize and therefore every one of you, from the lowest to the highest, will have to work together and apply your oars together to cleave the water simultaneously and uniformly so that we may safely cross the waters. In that process, I have derived great help from the Travancore Secretariat, and I, on this occasion—not in a mere spirit of compliment, conformity or convention—but from the bottom of my heart—bear witness to the loyalty, devotion and hard work of the Secretariat of Travancore and of the other Departments. No doubt, as the Head of the

Administration, one now and then becomes captious, querulous or critical. After all, ladies and gentlemen, you will have to bear in mind that the disposal of a file tomorrow morning may depend very much on the dinner tonight. There are many factors which influence a person's outlook upon any particular problem. They are sometimes physical, sometimes psychological, sometimes moral. But allowances you will have to make for those who are above you ; and those who are placed in the position of responsibility will have to make allowances for you. So trusting each other, pardoning each other, making allowances for each other, shall we work for the short time that it shall be given to me to work in this country. This terror of 81 or 100 is almost appalling. I am a firm believer in the doctrine that so long as man has energy and capacity for vision, so long only must he work ; and so long only must he live. It is not for nothing that our ancients said that no man can be declared to be wise until he is dead ; and of all the things in the world, the greatest gift of God is to know the proper time of death for each man. How many people do we know who live beyond the time when their usefulness to the world is over, who are regarded as superannuated, superfluous as otiose figures on the land of life. Therefore, when people come to me and wish me 81 or 100 I regard them not as friends but as un-friends. But so long as we work together in that spirit shall we work, viz., with the utmost loyalty and devotion that is due to our young Maharaja who has started life under the most favourable auspices with the most gracious disposition and with the most strenuous and lofty ideals. Him we must serve to the best of our ability. In that work I expect your co-operation. I have had it in the past ; and I shall look for it in the future. Let me conclude by thanking you fervently for the many-sided kindnesses of which I have been the recipient at your hands. I purposely refrain from dealing

with that verbal inexactitude, pardonable verbal exaggeration and those superlatives which betray only the kindness of the heart and not that precision, that accuracy, that moderation which is expected of a proper Secretariat officer. But I am not going to ask my friend either to my right or to my left for an explanation. I am not going to have a conference as to how and why all these expressions were used; and I shall not descend into those verbal quibbles which I am afraid is a weakness with me. But I shall take it all in good part, as coming from that innate generosity which is part of the Hindu temperament. I thank you again and wish you God speed and good luck and hope that every one of you would come to the top of the official ranks.

At The Scout Rally.

Under the auspices of the Trivandrum Local Scout Association a Scout Rally was held at Bhakthivilas on the 12th November to felicitate the Chief Commissioner on his completing 60 years of a rich and useful life. Nearly 300 Scouts had assembled. Though it was raining hard till dawn, the Boy Scouts were in the open to make the necessary arrangements at the grounds proving real Scouts. A neat programme of events had been got ready. The function opened on the arrival of the Chief Guest with greeting in Hindustani with the yell followed by three cheers at the end.

The *Ottam Thullal* which was the next item portrayed in graphic colours the activities and achievements of Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and provided very interesting entertainment to every one. This was followed by old-time military training by the Reformatory School Scouts which was highly appreciated as display of methodical and interesting drill rendered picturesque by the shield and sword worn by every player. The St. Joseph's Boy Scouts enlivened the proceedings by a Tamil song sung well.

It narrated Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's good turns to the Scout movement in India.

The President's Speech.

After the various items in the programme had been carried out, Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhurandhara V. S. Subrahmania Aiyar, Retired Dewan and President of the Local Association, addressed the Scouts. In offering his felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar on behalf of the Scout Association, he said that the very fact that a person living a strenuous life like Sir Ramaswami Aiyar has been able to celebrate his *Sashtiahdapurthi* shows that it has been a disciplined life. He has, Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar continued, done a great deal in the political and administrative fields that has brought him honour and glory. The work he has done for the Scout movement, though less spectacular, has been no less important. For, on the success of that movement and on the wider inculcation of the Scout spirit in our youth depends the unification of our Mother-land. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar collaborated with Dr. Besant when that remarkable lady first started a Scout movement in India. When that organisation became merged in the world Scout branch that was established in India, he continued to work for it in various capacities. His valuable work was recognised by the World Chief Scout by the award to him of the high Scout Honour of the "Silver Wolf". Later on, when dissensions arose and the organisation split up into various local bodies, Sir Ramaswami was one of those who worked to bring about amalgamation without sacrificing the principles involved in the conflict. When the reunion was effected, he retained for the Travancore Scout organisation its cultural individuality. We may confidently expect that the movement under his wise guidance as State Chief Commissioner will become the agency

for uniting all Travancoreans, irrespective of community or creed, and, under the benign inspiration of His Highness the Maharaja, will bring greater glory and prosperity to the State.

Dewan's Reply.

In rising to reply the Dewan said:—

Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar, Brother Scouts, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have been deeply touched by the manifestation of comradeship and kindness of which I have been the witness and the recipient. No doubt, there were certain psychological discrepancies attendant upon the *Ottam Thullal* which have made my task a little more embarrassing than it would otherwise have been. Moreover, that young man, Mr. Govindan Nair, who started this morning forgot the Scout promise. One of the most important items of that promise is to be truthful and I am feeling rather melancholy to notice that so early in the morning he started his career by amiable mendacity which, however well-meant, was rather embarrassing too. But this moral judgment apart, it is my duty and it is my pleasure to congratulate the young man on the technical excellence and the thoroughness of execution which characterised his act. I was next treated to a sword display by my friends of the Reformatory. I wish to mention one fact—the more it is emphasised, the more it is borne in mind, the better for all of us—that the Scout movement is not a military movement. It does not aim at levelling down individual characteristics and making a machine of the man. The aim, the object, the ideal of the Scout movement is to develop human personality, so that the many-sided activity—individual initiative and mental evolution might be the object and the ideal of the young man and the young woman. Far be it from me to decry the advantages, in the presence of the two

leading lights of the Travancore Army, far be it from me to disparage the effects, the notable effects of martial discipline and usage, but although that discipline might have its uses in the preservation of peace and bring about a certain conjoint action and disciplined methods of procedure, nevertheless, the Scout movement should be regarded as equal in importance, complementary and supplementary.

Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar whom, notwithstanding his seniority to me, I might gently chide for following in the wake of Mr. Govindan Nair (*Laughter*), has been, as is usual whenever he and I come together, so kind, so full of generous appreciation of a younger brother's work that I am so taxed that I shall not criticise. But there is one thing which he said which I think I deserve. It was given to me under the inspiration and guidance of one of the greatest and dearest friends of India, Dr. Besant, to help in the initiation of the Scout movement in India. It was not without difficulty; it was not without political dangers that that movement was started because at its inception there were many a suspicion, many an estrangement, many a difficulty. But of Dr. Besant, as of the true Scout, it could be said that she never knew defeat, and she never confessed it. Work daily, hourly, secondly, work, work for its own sake, work oblivious to outside influences and criticism, work tending to the glorification of our motherland, of the elevation of our country into the place which it deserves to hold, was her ideal. So thinking, so deliberating, Dr. Besant came to the conclusion that the first thing and the last thing that India needs is conjoint action, harmony of thoughts, solidarity in action, deliberation and speech both combined in the right proportion. And she also felt, what all of us feel, that at the foundation of all life, that as the substratum of all activity is a sound body in a sound mind. The

Scout movement is designed as an open air movement. 'Open air', what does that mean? Just as the sun pours its beneficent rays upon all and sundry and opens the bloom and the flower and ripens the fruit and brings the health-giving and nutrition-giving rain, so does the Scout movement take the little boy and the little girl, open their inner impulses to those influences of nature and of nature's good that go to a man who lives in the open air and thinks with an open air aspect. That is the first function of the Scout movement. The next is this. It is no use being a passive recipient of outward and spiritual influences. You should take part in the great activity which is called 'Life' which is a temporary loan to us given for a short time by the Maker of all things, and for that purpose, the aim, the motto, the ideal of the Scout movement is 'Be prepared', Prepared in your body to be healthy, because without health you cannot work. Prepared in your mind to be the recipient of the great influences that rain upon us. Prepared to meet evils when they come ; not to be elated when good comes. Good comes along with evil. Prepared to help your neighbours, prepared to help the dumb animals, prepared for social service, prepared for all the various occasions and calls which dire and depressing humanity makes upon those who are blessed by life and possibilities of service. Service and Preparation—these are the ideals of the Scout movement. Based on these the Scout movement began in India. It began under difficulties ; but a great statesman, Lord Willingdon, felt that with the divergent influences of one movement which called itself Indian, another which called itself Anglo-Indian, a third Mahomedan, a fourth European, that these separate Scout movements were, instead of being healing factors for the disease which India was suffering from, would aggravate the disease ; and so notwithstanding fundamental political differences, nay, hostility, Dr. Besant utilised me as her messenger

and we came together and Lord Willingdon and Dr. Besant became friends in the Scout movement and through friendship so generated came the fusion and with the advice and concurrence of the headquarters in London amalgamation was brought about, and the movement worked finely.

But as Lord Tennyson says in one of his poems these things have their days. . There came certain inharmony. There was a tendency to patronise us in India. There was a tendency to think of India as a weak younger brother to be helped and it became necessary at that time to assert the individuality, the self-respect, the solidarity of India and, therefore, it was that some of us felt that for the time being we had better dissociate ourselves from that Imperial movement. So we did. But as compromise is the soul of life, as agreement is the sugar of life, so we have come together again. We are now one with the All-India movement, but as Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar felicitously said we have retained the State Character. Our Patron is His Highness the Maharaja. His Highness the Elaya Raja is the Chief Scout of the State. His Gracious Highness has allowed his brother to take up this responsible and exalted position and, therefore, the Chief Commissioner will be a somewhat supererogatory and a superfluous phenomenon from next week and, as I have told the Elaya Raja myself, "I expect you to lead the young men and young women of the country and see to it that the Scout moment under that Royal influence attains its fullness and possibilities and its achievements.

Having said this, I cannot but say something more. I am not satisfied myself, as the Chief Commissioner of Scouts, with the Scout movement in Travancore. This State has a population of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions and pupils undergoing instruction today are near a million. About 3 to 4 thousand students take part in

this Movement. There are three-quarters of a million pupils under instruction who are fit to be Scouts and who have to be Scouts for the good of the State; and how many of them are Scouters? What is it due to? It means lack of initiative, lack of persuasiveness; it means that lack of propaganda spirit by which alone success in great events can be achieved. Therefore, I regard this Rally not merely as a compliment—it is a compliment; not merely an honour—yes, it is a signal honour; not merely an encouragement—it is an encouragement; but I regard it as a reproach, as a stimulus, as a fillip; and I ask everyone here, official and non-official; scout and girl guide, to take interest in the movement and work in such a way so that at the end of the next year or two, we might say that we have converted every young man and every young women into a true Scout or Girl Guide. I want a combined drive to make the Scout virtue, the Scout practice and the Scout programme universal. Not otherwise shall we solve the many difficult problems ahead of us. Without hard work, mental and physical, we shall not achieve the result for which we are craving and what is necessary is a carefully designed and well-thought out initiative to make every person in Travancore either a Scout or a Girl Guide or an active instead of being a passive participant in the movement. We do not want spectators. We want action.

Another great maxim is to be cheerful at all times. Each one of us has his troubles—personal troubles, political troubles, social troubles, troubles due to the economic situation and the tremendous unemployment which is characteristic of this epoch. If a person has to smile through life, Scout training stands to achieve that and if it so chances that in that smile is reflected the smile of providence without which we shall be nowhere then it is all for good. With that prayer, I wish you God-speed.

Boy Scouts of Travancore, I thank you for the manner in which you have expressed your appreciation, but let my appreciation be only just the beginning of the great fight, fight in the Scout sense, fight to make every one of us realise that the enemy before us is sloth, is ignorance, is darkness. As a remedy for the bodily disunity which is one of the handicapping factors of Indian life there is not anything like the Scout movement; because in the Scout Jamboree there was no Hindu, no Muslim and I must say there were no Brahmin or non-Brahmin divisions in the movement. The Scout forgets his sectarian religion in the sight of the Universal God. He forgets his social status. He remembers that he is one of a regiment, one of a battalion, one of an army of persons willing to fight the demon of ignorance and disunity. Let me end with that wonderful saying of the Upanishads:

“Let us work together, let us enjoy together, let us do brave deeds together” (Cheers).

The Deputy President's “At Home.”

Mr. S. Chattanatha Karayalar, M. A., B. L., the Deputy President of the Sri Mulam Assembly was At Home to the President in connection with his *Sashtiabdapurthi*. It was given at the Council Chambers. After tea Mr. Karayalar made the following speech:—

Revered Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have assembled here this evening to offer our felicitations and good wishes to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar on the occasion of his *Sashtiabdapurthi*. There have been a series of functions in honour of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* in Trivandrum and outside and the enthusiasm with which it is being celebrated indicates the high esteem in which he is held and

the deep appreciation of his acts and achievements. He has been in charge of the administration for a period of three years but this short period has been crowded with great events and great issues.

It is usual on an occasion of this nature to make a reference to his varied achievements and activities, as a lawyer, as a politician, as an administrator and as a statesman. But I refrain from doing so and that deliberately. In the first place, there have been several functions during the last few days at which speakers have recounted his various achievements. I do not desire to trench upon those grounds. There is another reason and a more weighty one why I refrain from referring to them here. I am now under the jurisdiction of the President of the Assembly and I am afraid that, if I refer to them, I may be ruled out by the President and I do not like to risk being ruled out. You may wonder what on earth I am going to refer to on this occasion. I shall give you a clue by drawing your attention to the circumstances that this function is being held in the Legislative Chamber. To be explicit, let me say that I propose to make a reference to the activities and achievements of our Chief Guest as the President of the Legislature. I have had the pleasure and the privilege of acting as the Deputy of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for about 2 years now and I have been closely following the proceedings of the Assembly and the rulings and speeches made by the President. Let me tell you that he has brought to bear upon his work in the Legislature his great intellectual gifts and the rich and varied experience of Parliamentary life gained by him during the period of his membership of the Provincial and Central Legislatures of British India extending over a quarter of a century and the proceedings of our Legislative Houses bear eloquent testimony to his great achievements.

To be the President of a Legislature is a great responsibility and involves a heavy strain, physical and mental, the magnitude of which can be realised only by those who have had to discharge the duties of the office. With your mastery of Parliamentary procedure, your great intellectual gifts and with the amazing range of your knowledge you have been able to discharge them with a facility and felicity all your own.

There are the unwritten rules or practice of the House which exist for the sake of ensuring fairness and fulness of debate and there are the written rules which aim at getting work done expeditiously. But practice operates even in the sphere of written rules, supplementing them where they are not explicit, and liberalising them when they are too wooden and inelastic. Your wide knowledge and rich experience have made valuable contributions in this sphere by humanising the rules where they are wooden and you have enriched the traditions of the House beyond all conception. Your profound knowledge of men and things has very often softened the ascerbities of heated and acrimonious debates and your keen sense of humour has enlivened many a debate which was otherwise dull and insipid.

There was not one important motion on which you did not throw new light from a point of view not seen by the mover or his supporters or even by the opponents, so much so that on several occasions the result of the division was in a direction not indicated by the trend of the discussion.

There were occasions on which several members stoutly opposed motions of far-reaching importance touching the vital interests of the State and would not yield to any kind of persuasive eloquence. When the time came for the President to put the motion, he used to sum up the position and clarify the issues in exercise of the privilege conferred upon him by law and the

result of the division indicated that those who had come to scoff remained to pray.

If the activities and achievements of our President be analysed, it will be found that they are inspired by a deep knowledge of men and things, an acute mind and a generous heart, a broad vision and a human outlook and above all by a profound knowledge of, and interest in, this country and its people which are discerned as much in the proceedings of the Legislature as in the sphere of administration.

Before I conclude, I cannot help referring to one great administrative achievement of the Sachivothama, although I pledged myself not to trench upon that ground. I refer to the great part played by you, Sir, in taking prompt and effective measures immediately on the outbreak of the War to control and regulate the prices of essential articles. The value of those measures can be fully appreciated only by those who experienced the stress and strain of the conditions that prevailed in the country after the outbreak of the last War owing to the soaring of the prices of commodities. Your action is beyond all praise and we cannot be sufficiently grateful to you for this one achievement of yours.

I have now great pleasure in conveying to you, Sir, our heartfelt felicitations and good wishes on your *Sashtiabdapurthi* and wish and pray for your long life, health and happiness, so that you may perfect and bring to fruition the many beneficent measures and schemes which you have evolved and launched and secured the peaceful and orderly progress of the country (*Prolonged Cheers*).

The Dewan's Reply.

In reply to the Deputy President's felicitations, the Dewan spoke :—

"I regard this function as one of those occasions when the kindness of friends is almost overwhelming in its spontaneity and generosity. I am especially grateful to the Deputy President of the Legislature acting as its spokesman for having given me the opportunity to meet the members of the Legislature who have come here from many parts of the State in spite of the inclemency of the weather, and many other friends besides.

I myself regard the Houses of the Travancore Legislature as a very notable and a very important part of the body politic of the State. It has been my attempt and it will continue to be my endeavour to make of that Legislature, more and more progressively not only the exponent of the aspirations, of the wishes and of demands of the people, but associates with the executive Government in the task of administration (*Cheers*). It was with a lively sense of the importance and the necessity of such a departure that, for instance, in the Department of Public Works, a Committee was recently constituted for the purpose of giving advice to Government in regard to matters affecting public works. That Committee, if it functions and is successful as I feel and confidently hope it will be, will increasingly help the creative and formative work that has to be done here in the matter of irrigation, in the matter of drainage and in the matter of utilisation of our electric power. In this and in many other matters such a Committee and the deliberations and the recommendations of such a Committee, will be not only heeded by the executive but will normally be acted upon. If the experiment succeeds, there can be no objection to the fullest possible contact with all aspects of administration being established with the Legislature and to the conferment of powers of advice when taking decisions not only with regard to important departmental

activities but with regard to the whole range of administration except of course a very few topics such as matters affecting the Ruling Family, relations with the Paramount Power and Devaswoms. Even regarding the latter, it is possible in appropriate cases to take counsel with representatives of the Legislature and it goes without saying that Government will normally give the utmost consideration to advice so obtained (*Cheers*). The criticism may be made "Oh, but this is not responsible Government." But this is not the time nor the occasion when I shall either enter into a defence of the policy of Government nor disclose the details of their programme. But I assure you and through you the wider public, that the object of the Travancore Government is to regard the Legislature as a formative part of the body politic, not as an ornamental embroidery, not as a surplusage, but as one of the vital instruments for the translation of the public will into action (*Cheers*). Feeling like that, realising the present potentialities and the future possibilities of the Legislature, it is a matter of supreme gratification that the executive and the Legislature have on the whole worked in complete harmony. Apart from a few ebullitions—after all without ebullitions the world would be dull—apart from a few emphatic assertions and reproaches—none of us is worse for a rightly-directed reproach; we have been very happy. We have had our little walks-out and our differences. These are all but small incidents in what may be generally regarded as a harmonious development of healthy traditions of comradeship between one branch of the Government and the other.

I have been a member, as I have said before, of several Legislatures in India and I have also seen the work of the Italian, the French, and the English Legislatures. I claim, therefore that, I am entitled to form an opinion and to express it with regard

to this Legislature. Now it is not in a spirit of flattery that I say that in the matter of facility of expression, in the matter of a desire to observe the traditions of Parliamentary debates and of Parliamentary decorum, the Legislature in Travancore yields to none (*Applause*). The Legislature's main function is to be critical. If that is conceded, nobody should lose temper whenever there is criticism. The only thing that one can demand is that the criticism should proceed on the basis that, when it is found to be unfounded, there must be an acknowledgment of the actual state of things and a shaking of hands over the situation which has arisen. In that matter I have found that the Travancore Legislature has not lagged behind. We hit hard and receive shrewd blows but no great harm has been done and we have been getting along as friends. So a function like this, got up by the Travancore Legislature is a function which must make any person glad and proud. I am glad and proud and I take this opportunity to say so. Let me wish this Legislature all prosperity, more power and the fulfilment of the potentialities which it has and God willing, will have (*Loud and Continued Cheers*).

CHAPTER V.

Different Communities Honour the Dewan.

Brilliant and Benificent Administration.

The different communities and classes of varied interests in the whole State presented Addresses placing on record their expressions of joy and congratulations on the auspicious occasion and availed themselves of the opportunity to briefly review the progress Travancore has made during the period of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's Association with the State, an association which extended to more than quarter of a century. What forms a matter of interest is that the Sachivothama found time to attend such a large number of "At Homes" got up by some of the leading communities and accept Addresses from them.

The Nair Service Society.

On Saturday the 11th November the President and a few members of the Nair Service Society waited on the Dewan at Bhakthivilas. They were receivcd with his accustomed hospitality and courtesy. The following Addrcess was then read by the President, Rao Bahadur Rajyasevanirata Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai :—

Respected Sir,

We, the president and the members of the Nair Service Society. deem it a proud and happy privilege to have been permitted to wait on you and offer our deep and sincere felicitations on the auspicious occasion of your *Sashtiabda purthi*. In

granting us this opportunity you have added yet yet one more instance to the several acts of warm sympathy and tenderness which have placed us in grateful obligation to you.

After having enjoyed the beneficence of your administration and the pleasure and privilege of serving you so long, while meeting you at your home in a small domestic circle and enveloped in a charming homely atmospheae, we may not consider in detail the various administrative acts of yours or adhere to the usual formalities of an address. We shall merely pour out our hearts in the fullness of love and gratitude.

There is practically no aspect of public life in modern India which you have not enriched and no walk of learned life you have not adorned. The wide, long and almost unequalled experience has developed, sharpened and ripened your powers inborn and acquired. At a ripe age you have placed your great intellect, brilliant imagination, youthful enthusiasm, all the powers of your head and heart and your international reputation at the exclusive service of this beloved country of ours. And you have done so at a moment when not only Travancore, not merely India, but the whole world is passing through one of the most tragic convulsions in human history.

Your Administration has equalled you in its brilliance. It practically commenced with the Temple Entry Proclamation which is, and will contiue to be, one of the greatest miracles of human morality. That has raised our beloved Maharaja into the realm of heroes and yourself into his "Sachivothama".

If your contribution to the eternal glorification of human personality is unique, your contribution to the economic regeneration of the State is none the less remarkable. The limitless natural resources of this country which had slumbered for ages

have picked up a new and creative existence at your magic touch. You have supplied the one thing that was required to call them to life, namely the personality.

Your contribution to the field of education is behind neither in importance. The long desired, dreamed, discussed University is a fact accomplished. Nor is it like any other University. It has a mark, an individuality, a stamp of its own. You have not only made the University, but you are its life, light and soul. You pervade it. It is your cultural ego.

Any one of your several achievements in this country is enough to make any minister proud. But there is nothing surprising in it. You have come with a glorious mission. It is not for nothing that you decided to place yourself at the service of the Servant of Sree Padmanabha. You have a supreme ideal to achieve—the application of the Indian ideals of administration in the modern setting and the renaissance of a Hindu Kingdom.

Ours is to wish you all success in your noble endeavour and to assure you our humble and unbroken co-operation and service. May Sree Padmanabha and Sree Padmanabha Dasa continue to shower their blessings on you and may you live long and happy to guide the destines of this State.

The Dewan replied thus:—

Mr. President and Members of the Nair Service Society:—

You have with great restraint put certain curbs upon your impulses and I honour you for the reserves implicit in the address and am thankful to you for the matter contained in it. It has been my great pleasure as it has been my privilege to receive at all times the ungrudging and continuous co-operation, assistance and encouragement of the Nair Service Society. It is my pleasing duty on behalf of the Government of Travancore to tender

to the members of the Nair Service Society and, with stray exceptions, to the Nair community for the way in which they have been helpful to the Government in their several activities.

I often prescribe to myself the reading of one of the classics enshrining the wisdom as well as the experience of the ages. While doing this, I came across a poem of Dante in which the following occurs: "To the human person in his voyage through the world who has known the world, one of the first requisites is not to be elated when good comes to him because only in that way will he not be very sorry when evil befalls him". It is in that spirit that any administrator has to view the problems that confront him and, generally speaking the administrator and that queer creature called 'statesman' have to bear in mind that there is no point in being unduly elated because in the order of affairs the bitter and the sweet are mingled. But it is a very great thing for any administrator, for any administration and for any member of Government, or indeed any one charged with responsibilities, to feel that the cause for which he stands is just and righteous and that the Sovereign he serves feel some sympathy towards those on whom great burdens have been laid by the Sovereign. It is well recognised now that in so far as Travancore is concerned it possesses in its Sovereign and in its Royal Line a person and a group of people who have in a literal sense dedicated themselves to simplicity of life to the welfare of the subjects and the State and to the maintaining of those high and lofty ideals of which they are both the exponents, the symbols and the exemplars. With that stimulus and encouragement the task of the administrator and the statesman becomes much easier, but even then the work of any person called upon to administer a State or a country in unconventional and in non-normal times is a difficult work—very often an exacting, a thankless, distressing work and on those occasions

and face to face to those circumstances it must be and is, a matter of sincere consolation that there is a group of people on whom Government can rely, not for slavish sycophancy, not for uttering of 'aye' and 'no' whenever Government calls upon them to do so, but mindful of their responsibility; to be fearlessly critical of Government and equally mindful of the equally urgent responsibility of measuring their words, of making it possible for persons to hold that *bona fides* are repaid by *bona fides*, that charitable construction is possible in regard to acts of State or Administration or of policy and an uncharitable one, by choice the charitable construction is resorted to until the contrary is proved and the statesman is found guilty at the bar of history and of contemporary life. In this light, I feel that the members of the Nair Service Society have deserved well of their Sovereign, of their country and of the administration.

You have your own political ideals, you have your own religious and social ideals. You have not always agreed with the Government and I should honour you less, think less of you, if because the Government asks you to adopt certain formal line of action, you do so without thinking, without perception, without searching of hearts of the balance of convenience and possibilities. You have been charitable, you have been critical, and any statesman who wishes to know things, to see things in proper perspective should welcome such criticism. You have referred briefly and with restraint to what has been done by me elsewhere and here. I do not propose to deal with such matters in any reply to addresses save by tendering to you my fervent and the most heartfelt thanks for the kindness of the spirit underlying your address in regard to its matter and its manner.

At this juncture though it may be in some ways inopportune, I must say that in political work there is nothing like

having your cards entirely put upon the table and that there is nothing like a straight, clean, honest fight. Many of you have been here during the last two or three days. You have taken part in many functions. You and the people who have come here know how much of effervescence, ebullition, agitation there is and how much of peace, contentment and desire for peace. Nevertheless, there are certain self-constituted critics speaking without book who have said that a purely domestic and personal function like this has been exploited for political purposes. There are some persons who too often look at Travancore through coloured spectacles. One of them is Mahatma Gandhi. What he has stated is this: "In my opinion the State Congress had every right to dissociate themselves from the glorification of the Dewan's administration. Even an adversary is entitled to many happy returns of the day. But it is another matter when an attempt is made, as it is said to have been made in the present case, to make political capital out of an innocent event like a Birthday". I wish to make it public now that it is very difficult to understand the mentality of this great political personage. It was a few days ago that I received a letter from Mahatma Gandhi in which he treated me as his 'friend' and had said that he could not wish ill either to me or to the State. If, as a matter of fact, Mahatma Gandhi thought that these demonstrations were made for the purpose of making political capital, for the personal delectation of the Dewan, the facts could have been verified at the source. I consider it unfortunate that eminent personages, who by the saintliness of their life and lofty ideals have earned the just appreciation from people both within and outside, should listen to stories conveyed to them by interested and narrow-minded doctrinaire and personally malignant and disappointed folk with no following. Mahatma Gandhi says that the State Congress building has been

taken possession of by the Government. This is unadulterated inaccuracy. He adds: "furniture was thrown out". This is due to deliberate misrepresentation. What happened was that the Travancore State Congress had to utilise its funds for other purposes and had not paid its building rent. When certain proceedings were taken against the State Congress, the long-suffering landlord shut the building and locked it. That has been misconstrued and twisted. This is how politics is transformed here, controversies conducted and fight waged. And I rely upon men like you, men of discernment, men with interests and stake in the country, men who love this country and its Sovereign, to stand for truth and fight this insidious propaganda against Travancore. I appeal to you, gentlemen, to do so, not with any rancour, not with any bitterness, not with any desire to contradict one of the greatest men the world has produced, but in order to see that he is not utilised by self-seekers and adventurers. I am sorry Gandhiji accepts untruth from interested quarters without verifying facts and notwithstanding certain facts placed before him.

Friends, I want you to remember that this country has many advantages. It has natural resources, it has economic resources, mental resources. I believe the moral resources are equal in extent, in variety, in comprehensiveness and in splendour. And above all, you have a Sovereign who deals with all communities alike, who desires to mete out justice to everybody alike. To him, to this country, it is defamatory to picture a state of things which is the reverse of what exists. If there are grievances, surely those grievances should be brought to light and if they are not redressed, it is possible, it is your duty as public men, fearlessly to criticise and fearlessly to expose. But there is such a process as hitting below the belt, there is a process of

besmirching in the attribution of imaginary motives. Let us not be a party to that. I call upon you to see to it that truth is made known here and elsewhere.

My friends, I have done. It has been a matter of great pride and pleasure to receive all of you here, public men who differ from me on certain matters, but who have for the time being in a purely domestic, personal matter, put aside your differences, for the purpose of co-operation. That co-operation I want you along with other communities, to carry beyond this domestic sphere. Do not spare the individual, the Head of the Administration, but spare your own country. Spare the good name of your country, live for it, suffer for it, hold up as torch your burning love for *Vanchi Bhumi* to lighten the dark path of life. So shall we deserve the attribute of real patriotism.

[A criticism of the Travancore Government and its ways appeared in the newspapers received the previous evening over the name of Mahatma Gandhi. The Dewan availed himself of the earliest public opportunity to controvert the remarks and observations of the Mahatma. Hence the reference in the course of his reply to the Address presented by the Nair Service Society.]

Dinner by Brahmins.

The (*Tamil*) Brahmins of Travancore decided to entertain the Dewan at a Dinner. Prominent members of the community from all parts of the State were present and the total number was over one thousand. The function came off at Padmavilas. The distinguished guest of the evening was received in a becoming manner by the leaders among whom were Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhurandhara V. S. Subrahmania Aiyar, retired Dewan, Messrs. S. Krishna Aiyar, B. A., B. L., Advocate and Planter,

Member, Legislative Council, Kottayam, S. Venkitakrishna Aiyar, Quilon, T. V. Krishna Aiyar, Salt Manufacturer, Nagercoil, M. K. Ananthasiva Aiyar, Member, Legislative Council and Landlord, Mankompu, etc. After some time was spent in conversation, the whole party adjourned for dinner which was on a sumptuous scale. Dinner over, the party re-assembled at the Hall downstairs.

Brahmin's Felicitations.

Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhurandhara V. S. Subrahmanyam Aiyar, retired Dewan, then addressed the assembly. On behalf of the hosts he first offered hearty felicitations and good wishes to the illustrious guest of the evening. He said that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's career was a very remarkable one. His activities were many-sided and in every sphere of life he entered he was crowned with success. As a lawyer he was one of the most eminent, as a politician he was a match for the cleverest in the world, as Mr. Montague (late Secretary of State for India) had confessed, as an administrator he was bold and far-sighted and brilliant, he was equally an authority in literature and art, he was an eloquent and persuasive speaker and a clear and powerful writer. His success was due to his great, intelligent and indefatigable industry, his profound knowledge of human nature and his passionate desire for the progress of his country and of humanity. He kept his goal always before him and was not afraid of opposition. He met difficulties and overcame them with remarkable courage and resourcefulness. With such an equipment his success was not at all surprising. Continuing, the speaker proceeded to observe that those who moved closely with him knew that he was a religious man scrupulously observing the essentials, tenets and practices of his religion. His love of Hinduism it was that prompted him in

the great part he played in supporting and effectuating the epoch-making Temple Entry Proclamation that has made His Gracious Highness the Maharaja the modern saviour of the Hindu religion and the consolidator of the Hindu community. Mr. Subrahmania Aiyar said that he was glad that the members of the Brahmin community all over the State had enthusiastically united in the function, though ordinarily the community was notorious for its lack of unity and organisation. He hoped that in other matters too affecting their community this spirit of co-operation would be found actuating them.

The community, he concluded, was really proud of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and basked in the reflected glory of his splendid achievements.

The Dewan's Reply.

Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar then rose to reply and was received with vociferous cheers. In the course of his reply he said that he was greatly touched with the handsome praise showered on him by the spokesman of the Brahmin community. Though he did not deserve the high encomium paid to him, he shared with the speaker in the view that the Temple Entry Proclamation was an eye-opener to the rest of the world. The credit he could take in the issue of that important historical document was very little. In a land which is fortunate enough to possess a Ruler of such singular piety, moral force, divine impulse and high spiritual purpose, the way of the Dewan to bring about a reform of this description was indeed very easy. When to that priceless asset to the country is added the inspiration of an enlightened, progressive and benevolent mother, always intent on the promotion of well-ordered social progress, the role of the Dewan was easy. Such was the case in Travancore. He

would again repeat that his share was only to carry out the high-souled ambition of His Highness the Maharaja.

Sir Ramaswami admitted that a good deal of his early training was under the influence and care of his father and, when later on, he came under the inspiration of that great lady, Dr. Besant, and also of the foremost Indian statesman of the day, the late Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, the background of his picture was more or less complete. It was true that, as a result of such training and association, he was able to do some things, but even those little things would not have been possible but for the valuable collaboration and support he had received.

The Dewan referred to his first visit to Travancore when Their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Maharani did him the great honour of consulting him at a certain important juncture of their careers.

Their spokesman, Dewan Bahadur Rajyasevadhurandhara V. S. Subrahmania Iyer, had, in the course of his speech, paid him not only great compliment but had also dealt with certain aspects of the community as a whole. "I have often felt", proceeded the Dewan, "that our community does not pull the weight it should in the affairs of the country. Why? Though you agree in private, you quarrel in public. It must be remembered that to the extent to which the Brahmin gave up the spirit and entered into the market place seeking to grasp and compete, to that extent he lost that position and inherent superiority to which he could have laid claim. And in the open market, which he entered, the fact of his being a Brahmin was more a disqualification than a qualification. In the difficult days ahead, especially ahead of our community, it is only by re-capturing that superiority that we can rise. It is

for you to keep aloof, self-confident, self-restrained and self-supporting. Why should we rely on others for things we can do ourselves by conjoint action? There are many problems, economic, spiritual, and intellectual, before the country. The Brahmin, in so far as he considers himself superior to others is doomed. We have no right to regard ourselves superior to any other community. If you do not raise hostility, there must and will come a time when the Brahmin will be asked for, searched for, when his services are needed, provided he retains that culture—moral, spiritual, inspirational and emotional—which is his heritage. So wait for the time when you are called in and do not rush in when you are not wanted" (*Loud and Continued Cheers*).

Entertainments by Christians.

Travancore possesses the largest proportion of Christians in the whole of India who number about 16 lakhs out of a total population of 51 lakhs, or a proportion ranging from one-fourth to one-third. To put the matter in another way, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore rules over the largest number of Christians in India, a fourth part of the entire Christian population being His Highness' subjects. Though there are several factors which have contributed to this remarkable growth of Christianity in the State, such as the visit of St. Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, about the first century A. D. and not only converted many high caste Hindus like Numbudris and also erected many churches in Travancore, the arrival of a colony of people under the leadership of Thomas of Kana from Syria who settled down in the State, the visit of Francis Xavier fourteen centuries later, the most important was the admirable spirit of toleration and active help rendered by a succession of Hindu Maharajas who conferred special privileges on these immigrants and treated them with great consideration. It is on record that

under charters engraved on copper plates as many as seventy-two privileges were conferred on them. Thus encouraged and enthused they grew in number and strength and are today an influential community both from the point of view of economic prosperity and numerical strength. They now number 12,00,000 of whom the Catholics alone number 7,00,000. The other two sub-divisions, namely, Jacobites, are 3,50,000 and the third section, namely, the Marthomites, have been enumerated as 1,50,000. Though immigrants, these Syrian Christians as they grew in numbers and prospered, identified themselves with the other subjects of the land and, like them, have contributed their share to the material and moral advancement of the country.

The "At Home" by the Syrian Catholics.

Trivandrum has not witnessed within the recent past a social function of such spectacular effect and unmatched splendour as was witnessed on Thursday the 16th November, 1939. The official residence of His Grace the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios, O. I. E., D. D., M. A., the Archbishop of Trivandrum, was the place selected for this function in honour of Sachivotthama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, whose *Sashtiabdapurbi* had been celebrated about a week earlier. The fact that His Lordship Dr. Augustine Kandathil, Archbishop of Ernakulam and His Lordship Dr. James Kalacherry, Bishop of Changanachery, were not only present but took great trouble and interest and stayed in Trivandrum for a week to make the function a great success it proved to be, was sufficient indication of the enthusiasm evoked and of its wide and popular character of the movement among all classes of the clergy and the laity. His Lordship Dr. Alexander Chulaparambil, Bishop of Kottayam, paid constant visits to Trivandrum and co-operated to make the function worthy of the occasion and the man. A special



Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiya with the Bishops at the Party given by the Catholic Christians

four-decked pandal was erected which was as spacious as it was magnificent. This splendid Palace of Art stood on a charming hill-top which commanded an enchanting view of the beautiful gift of Nature all round. Designed artistically in the shape of a Hindu Temple, the temporary structure attracted much attention. The Flag of the Royal House of Travancore—the floreated Conch flanked by the two elephants on either side—fluttered gaily from the top. The beauty and pageantry of the decoration were effectively brightened by a handsome picture of His Holiness the Pope which imparted a halo of piety all round. The approaches to this mansion of beauty were equally magnificent with decorations of palms and evergreen, weighted at intervals with bunches of cocoanuts of golden colour, well matched with ripe plantain fruits shining in their yellow hue. The distinguished guest was taken through this four-furlong pathway of beauty and colour made resplendent by the large gold and silver fringed ceremonial silk umbrellas of diverse colours which, though they have been accepted as the outward symbol of the ecclesiastical dignity of the Syrian Church, are reckoned as a valued privilege conferred on Syrian Christians by the Maharajas of the State from early times.

A party of representatives of the clergy and laity of the Syrian Catholics of Travancore started from the Archbishop's House for Bhaktivilas to formally invite the Dewan in person. Thus escorted, the distinguished guest arrived at the archway when a welcome of sixty-one pop guns was fired. The fleet of cars then slowed down amidst the cheering crowds on either side. One interesting circumstance which may be noted here was the cheering in Syriac which was repeated at every turn. At the Pandal the Sachivothama was received by Their Graces the Archbishops and Their Lordships the Bishops of the Syrian

Catholic community. With the booming of another salvo of sixty-one pop guns. The illustrious guest was then conducted to his seat on the dais.

Refreshments on a sumptuous and lavish scale were then served to the guests who numbered as many as 1,500. After tea the popular and talented Dewan was entertained to some music at the end of which the girls presented bouquets to the Dewan.

The Most Rev. Dr. Mar Ivanios, the host, then proposed the health of the chief guest in a speech which was as follows:—
Sir Ramaswamy Aiyar, Your Grace Archbishops, My Lords Bishops, Rev. Fathers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is a unique occasion in the history of the Syrian Catholic community. I am not aware of any other function till now, in which so many Prelates have together taken part except for a solemn religious function. The fact that all the Archbishops and Bishops of the Syrian Catholic church having jurisdiction within and outside Travancore, are born subjects of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, adds to the beauty and significance of this occasion. His Grace the Archbishop of Ernakulam, in spite of his poor health, was pleased to grace the occasion with his august presence. His Excellency the Bishop of Trichur, kindly responding to my invitation proceeded as far as Kottayam on his way to Trivandrum. But himself and His Excellency the Bishop of Kottayam could not proceed to Trivandrum on account of the damage caused to the road by the heavy rains. I do very much miss Their Excellencies here. His Lordship the Bishop of Changanacherry, who owns the premier Catholic educational institution in the State has indeed added to the grace of the occasion by his genial presence. The presence of His Lordship Mar Severios, the Administrator Apostolic of Tiruvalla, is indeed very gratifying. I am particularly glad to

mention the presence of Mar Dioscoros who has only just returned to the Catholic Fold. It was very kind on the part of His Lordship the Bishop of Trivandrum to have accepted my invitation and to have graced this occasion with his presence. I must also make special mention of the presence here of the Very Rev. Fr. Prior General of the Syrian Carmelite Congregation of Malabar who has come here from Ernakulam to take part in this function. It is also gratifying that the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Linos of the Diocese of Cochin is also present here. His Grace the Archbishop of Verapoly and His Lordship the Bishop of Vijayapuram, although very desirous of staying here for this function, could not do so on account of unavoidable circumstances. It is nothing but the loyalty of all of us to His Gracious Highness the Maharaja, and our deep esteem for you, His Highness's trusted and illustrious Dewan, that has drawn us all together for the first time in the history of our community for a function like this. It is particularly gratifying for the Syrian Catholic community of Travancore that we are able to hold this function at an Archi-episcopal residence in the metropolis of the State itself.

It is my duty on this occasion, first, to express our feelings of loyalty and devotion to His Gracious Highness the Maharaja. To a Catholic, loyalty is a religious duty. "Fear God and honour the King" is the rule of life laid down by St. Paul for the conduct of Christians. We daily send up prayers to the Throne of the Almighty for our rulers, beseeching Him to guide, guard and protect them. We, the Syrian Catholics of Travancore, have an unbroken tradition of twenty centuries of unwavering loyalty and devoted service. The copper plate grant conferring privileges upon this ancient community in the early centuries of Christian history bears eloquent testimony to the trust and

confidence which, even from those early days, was reposed in us. History can point out numerous instances of loyal service on the part of the community and of favours free and abundant, granted by the gracious Rulers of this country. It is no less a person than that prince of scholars, His Highness Sri Visakom Thirunal of happy memory, who uttered the following words of appreciation and encouragement: "Yours is an ancient community with a glorious historic literature, and it is a model of contentment, peace and loyalty. Even if Sri Parusurama were to revisit this ancient land, he would not find a community of greater loyalty and moral uprightness". These significant words are an ideal for us to strive after, and a mirror reflecting our past. It is my duty to acknowledge on this occasion, gratefully and unreservedly the tolerant and sympathetic treatment which the Christian Church has been receiving at the hands of the gracious sovereigns of this State. It is this sympathy and encouragement that has enabled us to contribute our humble share of work for the moral and material advancement of the State. It was the benign solicitude of His Highness the Maharaja and of Her Highness the Queen Mother for the Catholic subjects of His Highness, that prompted Their Highnesses to pay a visit to His Holiness the Pope during Their Highness' European tour, and it was with feelings of great joy and thankfulness that we read the report of the kind words of enquiry that passed between the Supreme Head of the Universal Church and the illustrious Ruler of the most numerous Christian population in India. May I take the privilege of requesting you, Sir, on this occasion, to convey to His Gracious Highness the Maharaja our sentiments of unwavering loyalty and unflinching devotion to His Highness and to the Royal House and our deep gratitude for His Highness's benign solicitude for our historic Church and community.

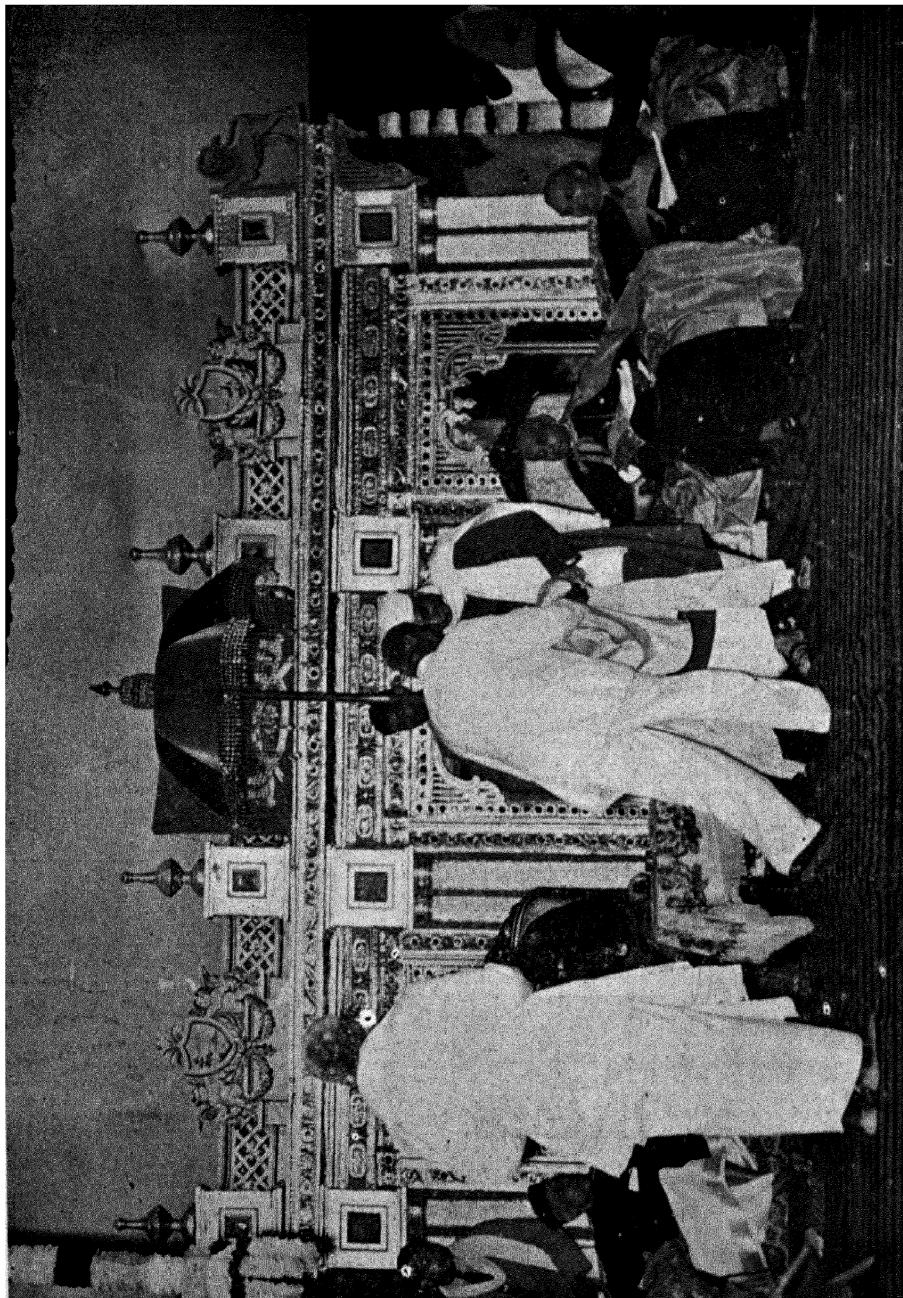
Sir, His Highness was singularly fortunate in obtaining as his trusted Minister a person of your talents, capacity and experience. It was a great thing for His Highness to have obtained the services of one who had already acquired a position of pre-eminence among the statesmen and administrators—not only of India, but of the whole British Empire. Sir, it was nothing but your devotion to His Highness's cherished aim to put Travancore on the map of the world, that induced you to place at His Highness's disposal your brilliant talents and your ripe administrative experience. And within the short time that you had been at the Head of the Administration here, you have made His Highness's name immortal and added to the glory of the State as no one else has done before. The epoch-making Temple Entry Proclamation has made His Highness a world figure, and the magnificent statue recently erected in the Madras City bears eloquent testimony to the great esteem and admiration in which His Highness is held in India.

It is not for me, Sir, on this occasion, to dilate on the various administrative acts and reforms initiated by you for the advancement of this State and for the increased happiness of its people. The part you played in the Temple Entry Proclamation, the establishment of the Travancore University and the steps taken by you for, the economic development of the State have already earned the universal appreciation of the people. It is in token of this appreciation of your golden deeds that the Syrian Catholics of Travancore are giving you tonight an Address of felicitations inscribed on gold plate. You also, Sir, like your Royal Master did not fail to pay a visit to His Holiness the Pope, and thus evince your interest in the Catholic subjects of His Highness; and we take this opportunity to thank you for your continued solicitude for the welfare of the Catholic Church

and its institutions in the State. Great indeed is your task, because, great is the ideal His Highness has set before him. Difficulties you have had in plenty, and difficulties you may have in future ; but, the inspiration of the personality of His Gracious Highness, and your extraordinary capacity, courage, energy and vision are sure to enable you with the help of Almighty God successfully to guide the State to its destined goal—the prosperity and happiness of His Highness' subjects.

Sir, the real danger at present to the stability and progress of society and of every State in the world is the presentday tendency to atheistic communism. The bitter fruits of subversive ideas are menacing every country and every State. Half-baked notions and glib slogans are attempting to invade the serenity of our atmosphere and to sap the foundations of the social order and of all that we deem sacred. The challenge to constituted authority is the spirit of the times. The Catholic church has never ceased to battle against this great menace to religion and to the State ; and I am sure, Sir, that the State will be serving itself by aiding the Church and its work of stemming the advance of this subversive movement. It should never be forgotten that without Divine authority, every guarantee of conscience is at an end. When the Moral Law fails, peoples, families, States and civilisation itself must all perish. It is, therefore, the duty of all who believe in God and who believe in spiritual and moral values to join battle with this meance to religion, to the stability of the State and to the true happiness of man. Sir, the Catholic Church possessing as she does the experience of centuries and holding as she does principles which have stood the test of ages, will, under the wise guidance of His Holiness the Pope, never cease to use all its moral force to fight against this scourge of atheistic communism and to maintain

The Decorated Dais



respect for constituted authority, without which stable Government is impossible. And it is highly encouraging to us that you have on more occasions than one expressed your appreciation of the co-operation of the Catholic Church in the work of furthering the steady and orderly progress of the State.

Sir, you have now attained the age of sixty, and today you can look back with legitimate pride to a life full of achievements, which few Indians can claim. The spheres of activity in which you engaged yourself with unrivalled brilliance are so diverse, and the positions of trust and responsibility which you held with conspicuous success are so numerous, that to the average man, your career is a marvel. A profound scholar, steeped in the knowledge of the different literatures of the world—in Sanskrit, Latin, English, French, Tamil and other languages—a public speaker of the first order, a lawyer and jurist of outstanding ability, a statesman of far-reaching foresight, you are indeed a versatile genius and a celebrated son of India. Your youthful energy and your dynamic personality infuse life into all those that come into contact with you. At the age of sixty, when most men feel worn out, you are as vigorous as a man of thirty and you are perhaps even now the most hard-worked officer in the State.

Your *Sashtiabdapurthi* is an occasion for general jubilation for all sections of the people. There is perhaps not a single taluk in the State which has not contributed some permanent monument to commemorate the occasion. Sir, on account of the congestion of the existing schools in this locality, an English High School was a long-felt need of the place, and it was very kind on the part of the Director of Public Instruction and of the Government to have granted me permission to open an English High School here; and I am particularly thankful to you, Sir,

for kindly giving me permission to name it “The Sachivothama Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial English High School” which will be a perpetual memorial of this happy event and of your abiding and deep regard for us. I beg to take advantage of this occasion, with your kind permission, Sir, to request M. R. Ry. T. Kerala Varma Koil Thampuran Avl., to lay the foundation stone of “The Sachivothama Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial English High School”. I beg also to mention my sincere thanks to him for the ready response to my request to be present here to lay the foundation stone of this institution.

Myself and Their Excellencies my Brother Prelates are particularly grateful to you, Sir, for having afforded us the special privilege of welcoming you personally into our midst and offering you our hearty congratulations and most sincere felicitations.

May God Almighty vouchsafe to you in yet more plentiful measure His choicest blessings and grant you long life, health and happiness.

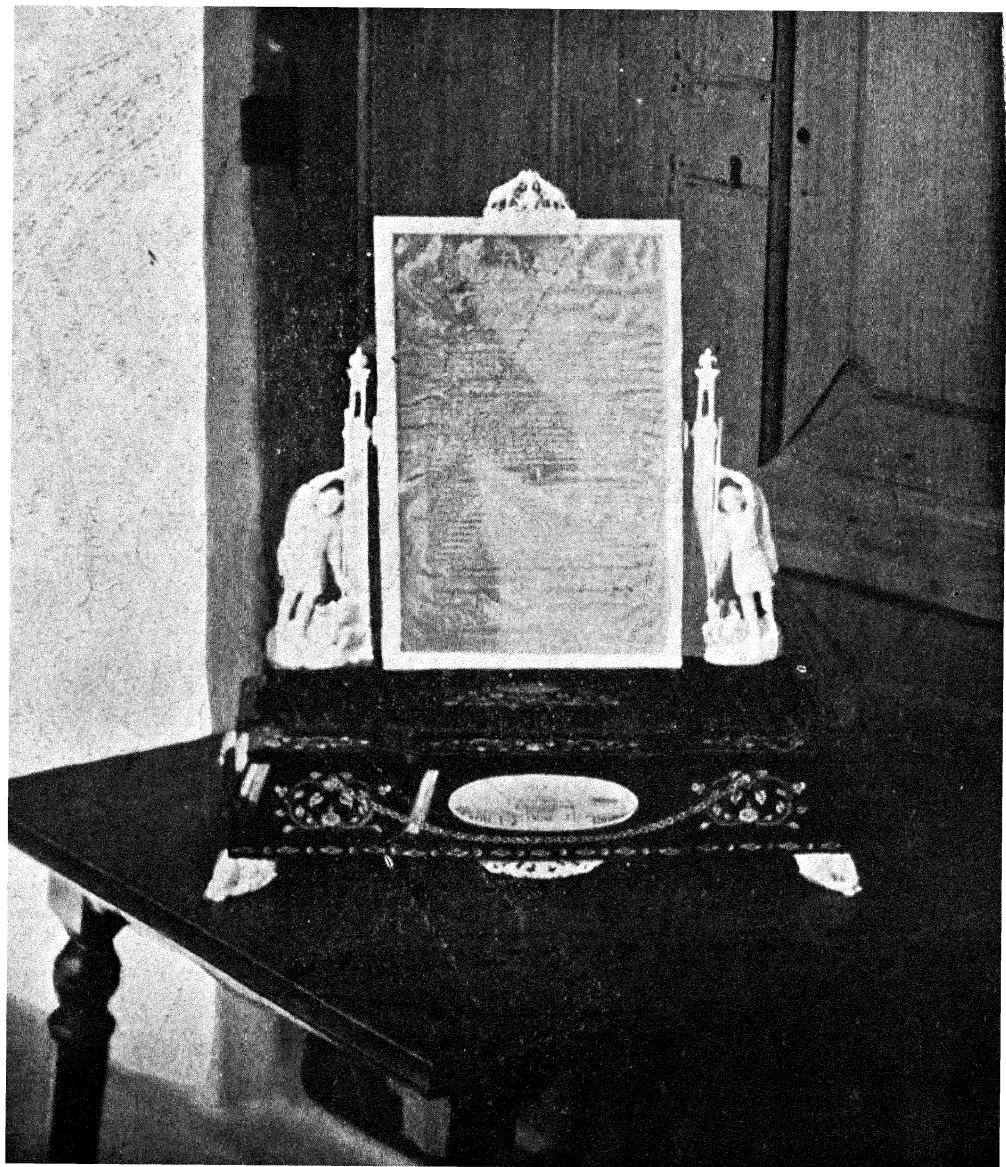
The Address.

The following Address was then read:—

Sir,

We, the Syrian Catholics of Travancore, beg to offer you our most heart-felt felicitations and good wishes on the happy occasion of your *Sashtiabdapurthi*.

It is, indeed, a very happy coincidence of events that the day after the Birthday of our beloved Maharaja, we should have been able to celebrate the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of His Highness's illustrious Dewan. Your abiding devotion to His Highness the Maharaja and your determination to give your best for the realisation of His Highness' cherished aim to make this an ideal State, have made Travancore as dear and near to you, as it is to a son of the soil.



The Address presented to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar by the Syrian
Catholics, inscribed in Gold Plate

The fact that all parts of the State and all communities are celebrating your *Sashtiabdapurthi* with unparalleled zeal and enthusiasm bears ample testimony to their great appreciation of your administration. The part you played in the epoch-making Temple Entry Proclamation has made your name immortal, and we may assure you, Sir, that as a community which has been and which will be working in its humble way for the uplift of the backward classes, believing as it does in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, we appreciate in a special manner the beneficial effects of that reform worthy of being inscribed in letters of gold. The steps taken by you for the re-orientation of the educational system and for the economic reconstruction of the State are sure to produce far-reaching results. As members of a religious body which inculcates respect for constituted authority, and which is definitely opposed to communism and similar sinister movements, it is our duty to express on this occasion our appreciation of your efforts to guide the State to evolve on the path of steady and orderly progress.

Sir, we are celebrating to-day the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of one, who, besides being our Dewan, is an illustrious son of India. Your exceptional proficiency both in the Western and the Indian literature, your wide travels and your close contact with many a master-mind of the West and of the East, have contributed to form in you a personality which, while being essentially Indian in its idealism, is equally Western in its realism. It is a remarkable instance of a happy blending of the East and the West. Providence has brought this land of ours from ages past into close contact with Western culture, and the civilisation that is being gradually built up is sure to make this a land of destiny which will no doubt play its part in the formation of the New India. And, when we promise you, Sir, our

fullest co-operation in your endeavours for the realisation of this ideal, we are assuring you the co-operation of an ancient community which can claim to have substantially contributed to the economic, educational and moral advancement of this State and which has ever been and will ever remain second to none in its loyalty to the Person and Throne of His Highness the Maharaja.

That God may mercifully bestow upon you His choicest blessings and grant you long life, health and happiness is the devout prayer of the Catholics of Travancore.

The Casket.

The casket in which the Address was encased was worthy of the occasion and of the great and eminent person. In plan, design, artistic carving, general workmanship and also in the intrinsic value of the materials used in its construction it was a unique casket of its type, unapproached by any of the numerous caskets presented to the Dewan from Parur to Cape Comorin. The Address was engraved in a Gold Plate which measured $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, a margin of about half an inch being left in the plate all round. This plate was mounted in a handsome and plain ivory frame with the Travancore Coat of Arms on the top. The height of the ivory frame was about $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Two ivory images of St. Michael supported the Gold Plate on either side. The ebony casket on which the Gold Plate stood was embossed with carvings in ivory of the Basilica of St. Peter and of the Vatican. All round were pictures in ivory of several scenes commemorating the Temple Entry Proclamation, the Travancore University, the Transport, and other reforms with which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was associated in the State and also of some of the picturesque and charming backwater scenery in Travancore. This admirable piece of art work was the

manufacture of Mr. N. Velu Achary, the Proprietor of the well-known House of Sri Mulam Ivory Works.

Having given a description of the casket, it has also to be stated that, by making such a costly present to the Dewan and arranging such a grand and spectacular demonstration in his honour, His Grace the Archbishop placed the Dewan on the horns of a dilemma. The Government Circular had distinctly laid down that caskets, wherever presented, should be of a nominal cost and that the entertainments should not be marked by extravagance in expenditure. Having come into the Reception Hall and seen the magnificent arrangements made, he must have felt the delicacy of the situation. Though he must have reached the only decision which one like him could reach, a man of stern discipline, of unblemished character and unshakable principles, namely, to decline the casket and express in unambiguous terms his strong sense of disapproval of the extravagance, his great magnanimity of mind and generosity of heart—the pitfall of many an eminent son of India—must have come to his aid. He accepted the casket publicly, but as soon as it found its way into Bhaktivilas, he ordered it to be sent to the Museum to be kept there. It is now in the Museum, admired and appreciated by the public in general. To a stranger unknown to Travancore arts and crafts it is a model of the skill of a Travancore artist and handi-craftsman.

The Dewan, on rising, was cheered vociferously. These demonstrations having stopped, the Dewan replied thus :—

Your Graces, Your Lordships, Rev. Sirs, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I do not know how to express the feelings of thankfulness and of profound satisfaction that I am experiencing at this

moment when such a lavish entertainment and such touching tributes have been showered on me and such a memorial of my services to the State has been inaugurated. I am deeply thankful, moreover, for the kind, all too kind, and flattering words which have emanated from Your Grace, words which I regard more in the nature of an incentive and a stimulus to further work than as wholly deserved by me for such achievement and such work as it has fallen to me to do.

There is one matter on which you spoke at some length and with a feeling and clarity which I cannot sufficiently admire, namely, the words which you used while referring to His Gracious Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. You pointed out that during many centuries—indeed millenia—the Rulers of Travancore had made it a point to see that all communities, creeds, and all religions flourished according to their several dispensations, within the State. That great tradition of religious tolerance which has been the unique heritage of the Maharajas of Travancore, the present Maharaja has inherited, and is developing in an abundant measure. I think—if I may say so without impertinence—that every word of appreciation and tribute uttered by persons in your exalted position is of inestimable value and great encouragement.

Rev. Sirs, I am, as the Head of this Administration, especially grateful to the representatives of the Catholic Church for your support and promise of support, for your encouragement and the hope of encouragement. I read in your words much more meaning than appears on the surface. Sirs, I have been a diligent student of your ecclesiastical history and an admirer of the Papacy as an institution that subserves the general human craving for authority and direction in the conduct of life. I am a devoted adherent of my own faith but I have held it to be my

duty to study reverently all that has been achieved by your Church in the making of the ancient and the modern world. Those of you, friends, who may not be aware of the contribution that the Catholic Church has made to the human civilisation, may not also be aware of the manner in which that Church has stood throughout the ages, for stability, for strength and for faith and charity. It was your great Redeemer that said on a memorable occasion to Simon Bar Jona who was called Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church"; and the church that was built by Peter and strengthened by Paul has continued with growing strength, with undiminished vigour unto this day.

Most Rev. Sirs, you have alluded to the visit paid by His Highness the Maharaja to the Vatican. I had the good fortune of having known His Holiness the Pope in another capacity when he was Bishop, before he was translated into Papacy. It was, therefore, with special gratification and with respect that I approached him. The kindness of his reception, the extreme interest he took in his spiritual adherents in Travancore and the manner in which he extended his support to His Highness was beyond all praise; and neither His Highness nor those who accompanied His Highness can forget what I would venture to call the historic journey to Rome, the historic interview. His Holiness was great in his physical hardihood, for he was one of the greatest mountaineers of Europe, and he was mountaineer in another sense also ; he was mountaineer of thought and he was a great stabilising influence. These are days when we are face to face with many perils, face to face with attempts to subvert authority, face to face with the re-shaping and re-modelling of ideals—old ideals are crumbling and aggression is assuming a defiant and all-devouring attitude. We do not know the future.

Therefore, unless statesmen, administrators, rulers and common men keep their head cool and fight for the right and have faith and charity, the issue would be dismal. You, Sirs, represent what may be called the dyke or bund, checking the torrent of communism and all those influences destructive of society, and the good will that should unite all communities and races and which depends on charity and tolerance: St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians spoke thus of charity:

“ Though I speak with the toungues of men and of angels and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling symbol;

And though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains and have not charity, I am nothing.”

That should be our guiding rule in this world—it is incumbent on us to cultivate—the spirit of charity, the spirit of tolerance for those who differ in religion, in politics, charity and tolerance in those many relationships of man with man, and man with the humbler creatures of the world; without such charity and tolerance this world would be a difficult place to live in. And, in the translation into actual practice of faith and hope, and of charity, what is needed is an organisation, a strong, well-knit organisation tending to unity, tending to the strength which is born of that unity. If the Catholics typify anything, if Catholicism means anything, signifies anything, it means, it signifies such organisation, close-knit fellowship, union.

The history of Catholicism is wonderful. Its leaders have been markers of miracles in many ways. It is not for me, Sirs, to refer to the great Popes, to personages like Pope Innocent III,

and Paul III or Pope Leo XIII. But, just at this juncture, I think it is my duty to refer to two or three great men who have profoundly influenced the Catholic faith and practice. One of them is St. Benedict; he brought into the world the ideal of social service, the combination of manual labour and agricultural work with study and devotional exercises, what amounted to the union of self-abnegation with actual social service amongst the poor and the lowly. Work of another type was done by that great Revivalist St. Francit of Assissi who emphasised by himself and through his *fratres minores*, love for children, animals and flowers, that all-embracing love which has made the work of St. Francis of Assissi an abiding possession of humanity apart from the religious aspect of his work. Then came sterner men like St. Dominic and Ignatius Loyola for whom the Pope issued the Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiac* that originated the great Jesuit Order. The Catholic Saints have always been the exemplars of learning, faith, charity and social service in the extreme degree. That has been their history; and—you not only have ancient examples—from St. Peter and St. Paul, through St. Augustine Benedict and Francis, Pope Innocent III and Leo XIII down to Cardinal Newman. The spirit is the same amongst those now living—I shall not mention names.

It would be wrong on my part, speaking to an audience not composed of the followers of the Catholic faith, to forget or to ignore, or to seem not to realise, the criticisms levelled against the organised Catholic Church, as it been levelled against my faith and my religion. Criticisms have been levelled in this connection against the Encyclical *Mirari vos* or The Constitution *Mirari vos* the Syllabus of 1864 and to the infallibility doctrine of 1870. It is stated, against the Catholic Church, that it is a bar to progress, antagonistic to modern science and thought. But the

ideal of the Catholic Church is not to set itself against progress, although it has generally opposed intellectual novelties until they had proved themselves. In this world, there is a see-saw of forces; there is the progressive force; there is also the conservative force. And, it is up to a person, or groups or institutions, to take up the one aspect or the other. The Catholic Church—as I said at the outset—has always stood for stability. But, it is also wonderful how, as time went on, that Church adapted itself to new things while not giving up fundamentals. The anxiety of the Church has been to see that the faculty of never being moved to rapture should not be confounded with philosophy.

From such a Church, any Government, any State, can expect support, if its ideals are to preserve what is best in its tradition and to work strenuously for a bright future. Such help every State has a right to expect from the dignities of the Catholic Church; and I feel confident that our State will get it in an abundant measure.

You, Sir, have gathered here today with your congregations and friends to do honour to a person who feels that he is not worthy of this honour. These manifestations, at a time when a person is holding a responsible office, are too often likely to be misconstrued. But, Your Graces and Lordships, it will be admitted, have nothing to gain from the State excepting sympathy and so much of the criticism, which such demonstrations might ordinarily arouse, will be beside the point.

You have spoken of the tolerance exhibited in this State. The State will be injuring itself if it discriminates between religion and religion, or between community and community; its function is to hold the balance even between all communities and all religions. It is with that duty that His

Highness has been charging successive administrators. This administrator will be failing in that trust if he betrays that command.

Mention has been made of certain acts, like the Temple Entry Proclamation. The part I played in such acts is that of an executant of His Highness' policy. I have said more than once how the part played by His Highness, and Her Highness the Maharani, was epoch-making. And what did it mean? It meant the same thing, for India, that the great reformers of all great Churches have sought to do for their faiths and their countries, namely, the universalisation of the faith and a process of levelling up and levelling down—levelling down not in order to make the people descend lower but the giving up of the superiority complex, making people humbler. That was the message preached by Jesus Christ, and by the Prophet Mahomed. That was the matter on which our ancients concentrated; but we lost the impulse for a time. Now, we have regained it; not only regained it, but translated it into actual practice. To do so certainly requires strength, resolve, determination, courage. His Highness had these; and the result was the Temple Entry Proclamation.

You have referred to other administrative acts too like the reorganisation of Education, the founding of the University, the Transport and Electrical schemes and other economic measures. I thank you for those generous references but I feel that, in this State, if private bodies, organised groups of people, work together with one-pointed ideals, great things can be achieved. I am never weary of saying that this country possesses infinite material resources; it enjoys nature's bounty; it possesses an alert and intelligent population. It needs a little more coherence,

more consolidation, and the avoidance of the present heterogeneity, and the creation of homogeneity. Let that be done, so that many more things can be achieved and this country can stand as an exemplar to the world.

Sirs, it is not for nothing that the Rulers of Travancore call themselves “*Sri Padmanabha Dasa*”. The idea is the same as that underlying the expression “*servus servorum Dei*”. The ideal is the same. It is with that ideal, and under the inspiration of Rulers who have such ideals, and who have inherited most wonderful traditions, that we work in this State. And, in that work, the promise of support that you have made, and the words of encouragement you have kindly given expression to, are of great value, particularly because you have got a close-knit organisation; you have some power over your congregation for good ends. You are not like some other religions which unfortunately have lost the faculty and power of effectively influencing the thoughts, the feelings, the aspirations, and the ideals of the people. Having the faculty and the will to use it, your place in the world is assured.

The Rig Veda, our most ancient Scripture, three thousand years ago, embodies a prayer that is both timely and appropriate and with that I conclude:

य आत्मदा बलदा यस्य विश्व
उपासते प्रशिष्यं यस्य देवाः ।
यस्य छाया मृतं यस्य मृत्युः
कस्मै देविवाय हृषा विधेम ॥

Rig-Veda. X-121.

“He gives us insight, He gives us strength, Him all beings worship, His shadow is life, His shadow is death. To Him the unknowable let us offer our worship” (Cheers).

Party by the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Christians.

Though this function came off at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall on the 23rd November, i. e. early a fortnight after the day of *Sashtiabdadpurthi*, it lost nothing of its freshness or the interest evoked by the event. The Town Hall was full with tables of dainties attractively displayed, only waiting to be attacked. The chief and distinguished guest of the evening was, on arrival, received by the clergy and laity, Syriac Songs being sung by the priests when the Dewan was conducted to his seat. The whole audience stood as the Sachivothama passed them. The whole Assembly then engaged themselves in partaking of the refreshments.

Speech by the Very Rev. Ramban Fr. C. M. Thoma.

After tea the Very Rev. Ramban Fr. C. M. Thoma, representing the community, spoke as follows :—

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar, Col. & Mrs. Murphy, Your Holiness the Catholicos, Your Lordships, Rev. Fathers, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am afraid it was rather peremptory on my part to have accepted the offer to make a speech this afternoon, for, the Priest-Monks of the ancient, orthodox, eastern Monasteries, as a rule, do not attend public functions like this, nor deliver speeches on such occasions. But I felt constrained to accept the offer for two reasons ; one was, His Holiness the Catholicos' special command, and the other, the personal interest I have in this function connected with the Chief Guest of this afternoon.

On behalf of His Holiness the Catholicos, it gives me genuine pleasure to accord a most cordial welcome to you, Sir, the honoured guest of this evening's function, to this meeting gnarred by His Holiness the Catholicos on behalf of the Ancient

Orthodox Syrian community of Travancore, in order to celebrate the happy occasion of your *Sashtiabdapurthi*. It is very seldom that the people of Travancore get an opportunity of celebrating a Dewan's *Sashtiabdapurthi* during his administration: and, when the Dewan happens to be a person of your eminence who has rendered signal services to the State and its people, I need hardly say that it is indeed a unique occasion for general rejoicing throughout the State.

Suitable memorials of your *Sashtiabdapurthi* have been erected in all the important towns of the State either in the form of public parks, or additional wards in the hospitals or Sathrams or High Schools to perpetuate your memory—memorials that will serve to bring home to posterity the manifold steps you have taken for the material and social advancement of the people of this State.

While extending to you a hearty welcome to our midst and assuring you of our sincerest felicitations on your attaining your sixtieth year, may we also request you to convey to His Gracious Highness our Beloved Maharaja, our sentiments of loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of His Highness as well as to Her Highness the Maharani, the talented mother of His Highness and the members of the Royal House.

In this connection, it is a matter of great pride to us to recall that it was in reply to an address presented by the late Mar Joseph Dionysius, one of our foremost prelates of modern times, at Kottayam in 1880 that the late lamented Visakham Thirunal Maharaja, who has been recognised as the most enlightened Ruler of his times graciously pronounced the following memorable words: "Your community is the very embodiment of antiquity and historical association and the very

model of contentment, peacefulness and loyalty. Were Parasurama himself to revisit this ancient land, he cannot find a more loyal and well behaved people than the Syrian Christians."

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the Divine Founder of our religion taught us to "render unto Ceaser the things that are Ceaser's and unto God the things that are God's". We can boast of a long and continuous tradition of loyalty and service to our Maharajas. We are grateful to those Gracious Rulers of this country who afforded us protection and support in those early centuries when our fellow-Christians had to endure persecution and martyrdom in other lands.

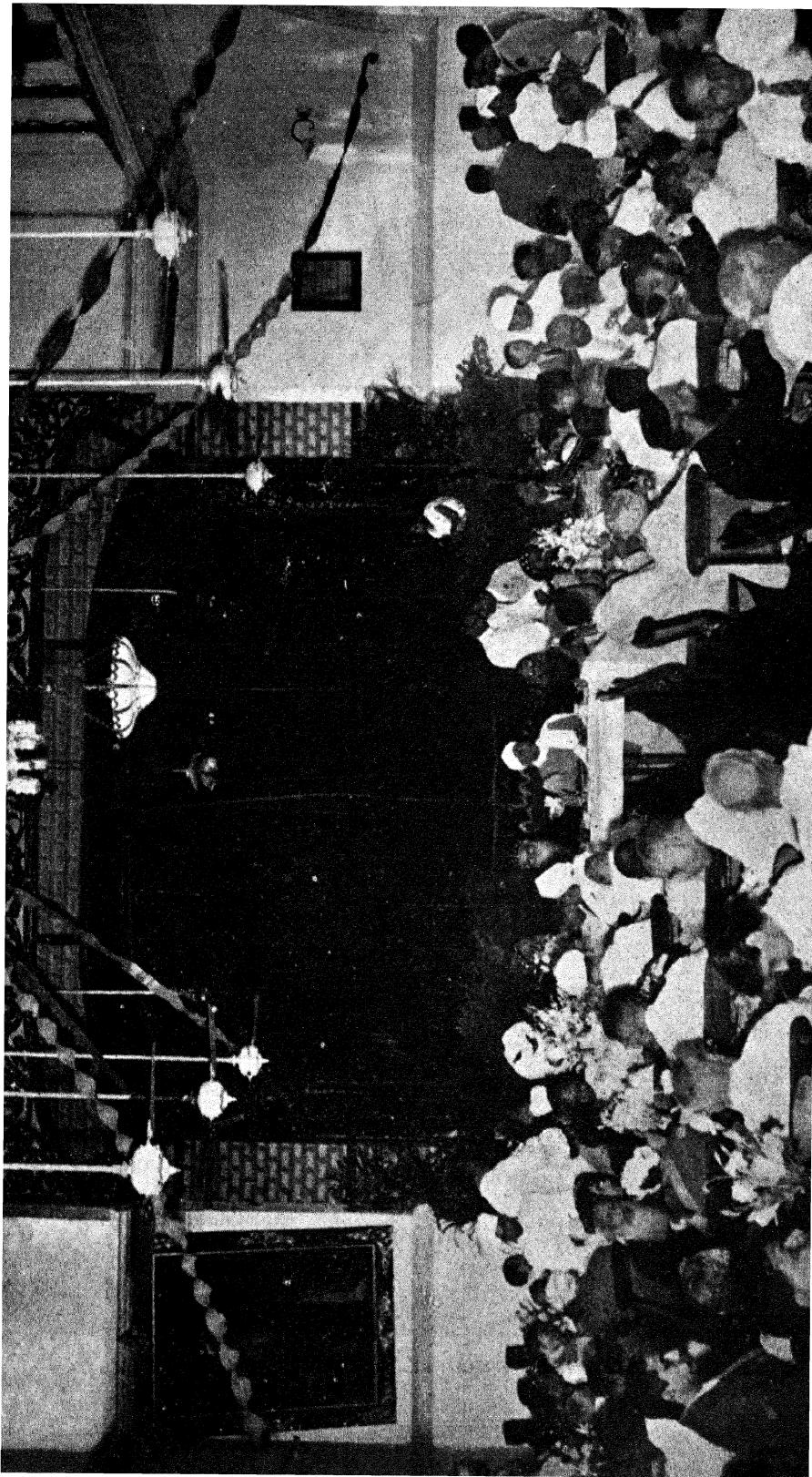
The copper plates conferring privileges on our ancient community proclaim the high honour in which our ancestors were held by the Rulers of this land, and the grants of free-hold land to the Syrian Seminary at Kottayam, the episcopal residence of the Catholicos and other Bishops and later, a series of other acts of consideration and munificence are thankfully cherished by us for generations. May I request you, Sir, on behalf of our Church to assure His Highness the Maharaja of our sincere gratitude to him for His Highness' regard and esteem for our Ancient Apostolic Church ?

Travancore has every reason to feel proud of having secured the services of such an eminent and energetic Dewan as yourself. It is not for me, Sir, to recount in my short welcome speech, either the series of successes to your credit before you came to Travancore or the various administrative measures by which you have endeavoured to increase the reputation of this State and to advance the prosperity of its people.

Your part in the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation has carried your name along with that of His Highness throughout the civilised world.

In this connection, I remember an interesting event which took place in Oxford. During his short speech in a gathering connected with the University, a few months before I left the place, Sir David Ross, the present Provost and Principal of the Oriel College, Oxford, happened to say that the greatest Dewan Travancore ever had or could ever have was Sir T. Madhava Rao. (I was the only Indian present on the occasion. Dr. Gurney of New College, Oxford, was our Host). I was silent for a time. Then, I had to stand up and tell the assembly that, if they ever had occasion to know what has been happening in Travancore by way of reforms, social and material, I had not the least doubt that Sir David Ross would withdraw his statement about Sir T. Madhava Rao and say that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was the greatest Dewan Travancore can ever have (Cheers). I had to recount certain reforms; I could remember only a few as I had been away for the last two years; and, when I spoke to them about the Temple Entry Proclamation, and about the various ways in which our Chief Guest this afternoon was attempting to lift up the poor people and to help the material and social progress of the country, they all unanimously beckoned to me for copies of the Proclamation. Fortunately, I had with me a few copies, and I sent them round. Several of them wrote to me since that the great misapprehension they had about Travancore had been removed.

Later, in another meeting, the reforms of the Travancore Dewan were again the subject of talk. I am glad to state that most of the Professors in Oxford rejoiced to hear that the Travancore State, in a distant corner of the Indian Empire, was steadily progressing under its saintly Maharajah and a Dewan with immense capacity and power. The Travancore University will ever remember you as its father and it is fitting that the University has conferred on you the most honourable Degree of



The Garden Party by the Malankara Orthodox Jacobite Syrian Christian Community

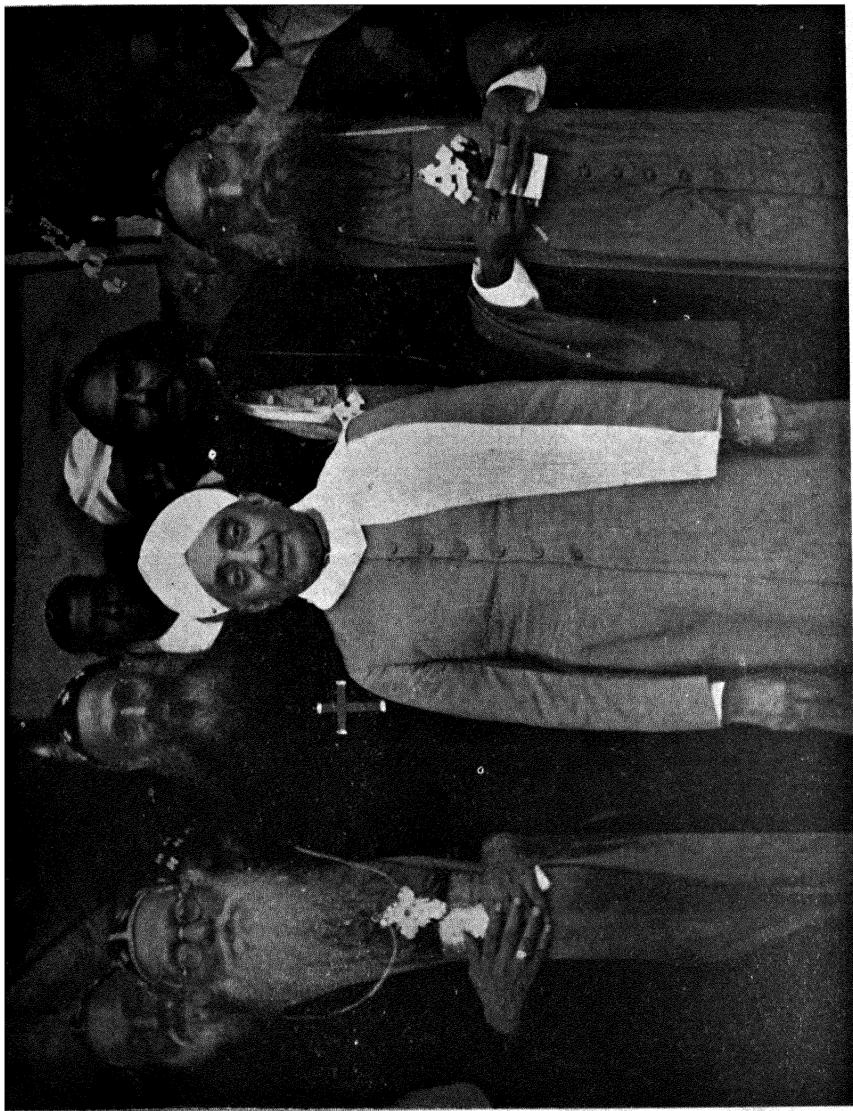
LL. D. The formation of Debt Conciliation Boards, the relieving of agricultural depression, the rapid industrialisation of the State on right lines, the scheme of nationalising the Transport System of the State and the prompt measures you have taken to prevent profiteering and ensure an adequate food supply in the State at the outbreak of the present War are a few of the outstanding achievements by which you have earned the gratitude of all classes and communities of the State.

May we as a community assure you of our loyal support in all your efforts for promoting the welfare, peace and prosperity of the State.

Permit me, Sir, to avail myself of this opportunity to thank you most sincerely for the never-failing courtesy you have shown to the Bishops and clergy of our Church whenever they had the privilege of approaching you. We can not but admire your winning manners and charming personality by which you are able to disarm all oppositions and endear yourself to all who come in contact with you.

His Holiness the Catholicos, the Bishops, the Clergy and the laity of our Church are extremely grateful to you for having consented to give us this opportunity of welcoming you personally, and offering you hearty congratulations. We are also very grateful to Col. and Mrs. Murphy for having conceded to the requisition of His Holiness the Catholicos and for having come here this afternoon, sparing their time which is always precious. We are grateful to you all, ladies and gentlemen present here this afternoon, for being good enough to come and take part in this function.

Let me conclude with the prayer that the Giver of all good gifts may be pleased to grant you long life, health and happiness (*Cheers.*)



Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar among the Heads of the Syrian Catholics and the
Malankara Orthodox Jacobite Syrian Christian Community

statesmanlike foresight you proclaimed at the beginning of your regime that it would be your steady aim and constant endeavour to spread the fame and enhance the glory of this land. The record of the eight memorable years during which you have been with us shows that you have abundantly fulfilled this cherished ambition of yours. Your name will always be associated with the momentous Temple Entry Proclamation, which has been rightly hailed as the palladium of the social privileges and religious rights of thousands of our Gracious Maharaja's loyal subjects. With that unerring insight and rare courage which you displayed in the launching of the Mettur Project and Pykara Scheme, you have envisaged the wonderful possibilities of industrial enterprise in Travancore, consequent on the development of the Pallivasal Hydro-Electric Scheme, which is calculated to ensure the prosperity of the State. You have adopted the latest methods of scientific research and investigation for conserving and utilising the immense wealth of our forests. Your crowning achievement in the field of education has been the inauguration of a separate University for Travancore, not merely for giving due prominence to Kerala art and culture, but also for popularising such technological studies as will prove conducive to the rapid industrialisation of the State. Permit us, Sir, to express our unbounded satisfaction at the recent conferment of the degree of LL. D. on you in recognition of your multifarious contribution to the progress of education in the State, as well as of your forensic attainments, your administrative talents and your brilliant statesmanship. We have enumerated only a few of the outstanding reforms you have undertaken for the economic, industrial, educational and social regeneration of our country, and we avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our genuine gratitude to you for all these measures, and to assure you, Sir, of our whole-hearted support and unstinted co-operation in all your endeavours

to advance the material prosperity of this State and to promote the moral well-being of its people.

We shall be failing in our duty if we do not say how grateful we are to His Highness the Maharaja for having secured for the State, in these critical times, the services of such a distinguished Indian statesman as yourself, endowed with a mighty intellect, a versatile genius, and an unrivalled eloquence, an admirable charm of manners, and a happy blending of all that is best in eastern and western culture.

May God Almighty be pleased to vouchsafe His choicest blessings on you, that you may continue for many more years to come, your great and noble task of promoting the welfare of His Highness' loving and loyal subjects, is the fervent prayer of the Malankara Orthodox Jacobite Syrian Christian Community.

The Dewan's Reply.

The Dewan, who on rising was received with tremendous applause, gave the following reply punctuated with frequent cheers.

Your Holiness, Your Graces, Your Excellencies, Col. Murphy and Mrs. Murphy, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It now devolves upon me to reply to addresses which by their contents and form practically deprive me of the possibility of an adequate reply. From a secular and a literary man like Rao Sahib O. M. Cheriyam whose labours in the field of Malayalam literature are known and appreciated widely, I was prepared for certain rhetorical embellishments and certain literary exaggerations; which may be ascribed to his friendliness and exuberance of generosity. What shall I say of the Very Rev. M. Thomas? During his stay in Oxford, I had the good fortune to be in correspondence with him; and I know that he utilised his time in England not only for the purpose of those studies

which have brought him distinction and which will make of him a nucleus of fruitful activity, but also for the purpose of speaking about Travancore, correcting misconceptions and misrepresentations regarding this State and the happenings in this State. I take this public occasion to acknowledge the obligation that the Travancore Government and myself personally owe to him (*Cheers*). But he has almost cancelled that obligation by his speech, because I was not prepared for such unclerical exaggeration (*Laughter*). I can only say that his friendliness ran away with him and the occasion led him to verbal exuberance which he will perhaps regret in cooler moments when he goes back to his Monastery.

Friends, when I am analysing your address and viewing this party which I have had the honour to receive at your hands, I can say in all sincerity that I am overwhelmed by this exhibition of your kindness. In both the speeches to which we have listened with pleasure—and, I trust, with profit—, we have heard of the great history and the achievements of the Syrian Church. You have rightly pointed out, Sir, that, from the early years of the Christian era the tradition has been that your Church has had a foot-hold in India, and that, when the whole world was plunged in the horrors of war and of religious persecution and intolerance, it was the meritorious privilege of the Maharaja of Travancore to give you shelter, and not only shelter and hospitality but honour, as you have rightly pointed out, certain honours conferred on the members of your community; certain grants made in your favour; your Clergy was honoured by the Maharaja of Travancore very early in history.

Now, may I dwell for a few minutes on the history of your community in Travancore; I have a fairly thorough acquaintance with your history, both secular and religious,

acquired, as chance would have it, in the course of a litigation in which I fought the Catholicos (*Laughter*). May I utilise that historical knowledge for pointing out that the first century to which you refer as the probable date of your settlement in India was six hundred and odd years before the Synodal Decree of Nychia when, for the first time, the name of Jacobites as such came into vogue in the south-eastern corner of Europe—the name being derived from Jacob Baraclaeus. It was also long before the Council of Nicaea which led to secessions in the Church and the subsequent controversies. I shall now not advert to the Nestorian and Monophysite disputationes and doctrinal differences nor to the Synod of Chalcedon which led to a temporary compromise followed by the famous “*filioque*” dispute. Long before all these controversies in Europe and Asia Minor you claim to have come here as a branch of the parent Church soon after the mission of your Saviour, and the first apostles and to have started work here. The first time I came in contact with Syriac literature and civilisation was, however, not in connection with the Syrian Church case ; it was when I read a translation by an American scholar of a wonderful hymn called “The hymn of the soul” by St. Thomas who was a great *Yogi* and a preacher of asceticism and celibacy. St. Thomas was by repute the brother of Jesus Christ. St. Thomas’s Acts are not incorporated in the ordinary Authorised Version of the Bible, the English version of it ; they form part of what are called *Apoctypha*. He was the author of a wonderful religious poem called ‘The hymn of the soul’. That was my first acquaintance with Syriac literature, unfortunately only in Translation ; because, my knowledge of your language is nil, so much so that I was not able to comprehend that beautiful welcome song which your priests did me the honour of singing on my way to this Table.

It is true that, now and then, you have had some differences amongst yourself over ecclesiastical or secular affairs; such things no community can wholly get rid of. But, generally speaking, and as you rightly claimed, you have been functioning within the State in a spirit of helpfulness, cordiality and loyalty to the Rulers of this State, and to the constituted Government of this State; and I take this occasion to acknowledge that, generally speaking and on the whole, your community has set its face against all disruptive tendencies. I am glad it has been so; and I regard this function, not so much as an honour done to myself but as a symbol of a message to be conveyed by me to His Highness our Gracious Sovereign, the message of solidarity behind the constituted authorities of the State, the message that you all stand united with His Highness in his great ideals, placed in a most favourable position as we in India are, on account of our ties with, and the protection of, Great Britain. Now, it is a great thing for any community to claim this and it was my good fortune 3 or 4 days ago to acknowledge to the Syrian Catholic community our deep debt of obligation for the unvarying, continuous and practically unanimous support from the Syrian Catholics of Travancore, in the difficult times that we have lived through. In your community, there have been divergences of opinion, and it would be hypercritical on my part if I do not refer to that. It is a matter in which the responsible heads of the community, the higher clergy, the religious heads of the community and the lay leaders of the community, should set their faces against those disruptive tendencies that are rarely of any use but almost invariably tend to the disadvantage of the person or community that indulges in them. A French proverb has it "Qui se fache, a tort"; he who excites himself is generally wrong. Whether in religion or in secular matters, the exhibition of bad temper, of petulance and of querulousness, does not take

us anywhere; and if any lesson were needed, there is the lesson of your great Prophet's life, the lesson of his teachings which show which way the path of wisdom lies. You have rightly adverted to the saying "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's". What does that saying mean? It is not mere tribute in money, land revenue for instance, that is referred to in that saying, but the tribute of spirit, the tribute of co-operation, the tribute of a homogeneous following of noble ideals in furtherance of those beneficent policies for which the State stands and works. It is this rendering unto Caesar things that are Caesar's that is expected of the congregation of the Christian Clergy and laity. In so doing, you will be fulfilling your Prophet's command, you will also be fulfilling the religious and the civic duty incumbent on you and me, and on all alike. As I said a few moments ago, I was the recipient from the Syrian Catholics of their mark of kindly appreciation. Yesterday, I presided over a function in which the Salvation Army did me the honour to say something very kind about what little I have been able to do for the State. And, today, I have been hearing many words of generous, too generous, appreciation of my services. I have made a rule not to refer to them. What I have done is for others to judge; it is not for me to refer to. When I came here, and during the time I have laboured here, I have laboured with only one purpose in view; that has been repeated over and over again, but it bears repetition. This country is a rich country. Its resources are illimitable. The resources of a country are measured not merely by its natural resources but mainly and primarily by its human resources, by the capabilities, by the potentialities of the inhabitants of the State. On account of a wise Decree of a wise Queen who reigned here over 130 years ago, the system of education here has been widespread and has produced some gratifying results. It has produced in its train' also certain

results not so gratifying, a certain amount of discontent, some justified, some unjustified, a certain amount of what may be called a desire to criticise for the sake of criticism and a reluctance to labour patiently over constructive schemes. These are things which are necessary concomitants of education divorced from practical application. But, nevertheless, the material is there; and with that material, a great deal can be done. You have referred to the Temple Entry Proclamation. My credit for that is much less than that of His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness the Maharani, very much less indeed. The special purpose of that Proclamation was to bring about homogeneity. Why should one section of the people feel that they are different from another section, although they breathe the same air and live the same life? It was for the purpose of bringing them to the level of the other communities that that Proclamation was promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja. Having done that, having rendered the population solid, homogeneous, the next thing to be done was to turn the energies, the intellectual and spiritual energies of the people, towards doing things rather than speaking about things; it is for that purpose that the University has come into existence, and this is the reason for pushing on with economic and industrial schemes of a nation-building character. What is needed for the success of this great experiment, in this country, is nothing save the union of hearts, the willingness and the desire to come and talk things over with each other in charity and mutual adjustment, the desire to work together with loyalty, loyalty not merely to small things but to the things that are more vital and excellent and count for everything in life. When this loyalty is consolidated, unified, nothing is impossible, and in that work, so great, so urgent, so imperative, the Government of His Highness has a right to look upon the great dignitaries of every Church, including the Church

which has honoured me today for co-operation. And, if every one of us should put our shoulder to the wheel and deal with the disruptive influences as they ought to be dealt with, then indeed can that great work be accomplished.

Let me pause for a moment to refer to those influences. He would be a bad statesman, he would be false to His Highness, who merely strives to choke agitation, to suppress legitimate discontent, to make it impossible for the people to ventilate their grievances to the utmost. It is one thing to demand that grievances should be remedied; it is one thing to desire that progress should be achieved in every direction. It is quite another thing to destroy for destruction's sake, to hamper for hampering's sake, to put obstacles merely in an attempt to translate into action dreams and doctrinaire ideals which cannot be immediately put into practice. That is a matter which is known to every statesman and every religious leader. It is only by stages that a person comes to perfection in the development of the individual soul. The position is the same in regard to the development of political, social and other institutions ; things have to be achieved in stages. Let us not hurry. A French saying says—"He who makes great haste on a mountainous path almost certainly loses his way." Let us remember that. I appeal to you, Sirs, and through you to your congregation and to your laity, I appeal from this Hall to the country outside, I appeal in the name of the State and in the name of His Highness, for co-operation, not blind submissive co-operation, but intelligent, critical and alert co-operation, without which we shall not and with which we can surmount every obstacle, with the blessings of Providence (*Cheers*).

CHAPTER VI.

The Verdict of the Assembly.

Non-official Resolutions of Congratulations.

The Sixth Session of the Travancore Sri Mulam Assembly commenced on Monday, the 22nd January at the Council Chambers.

Mr. N. Ramakrishna Pillai (*Vaikam cum Kottayam*) moved the following motions:—

1. “This Assembly respectfully tenders its felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, LL. D., President of the Assembly on the celebration of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* and wishes him long life, happiness and prosperity.
2. This Assembly tenders its hearty and respectful felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the President of the Assembly on the honorary degree of LL. D., conferred upon him by the Travancore University.”

The Dewan-President, Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar retired and asked the Deputy President to take the Chair. Accordingly, Mr. S. Chattanatha Karayalar, M. A., B. L., the Deputy President, took the Chair and the proceedings continued.

Mr. N. Ramakrishna Pillai: Sir, I beg to move the following motion :—“This Assembly respectfully tenders its felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, LL. D., the President of the Assembly on the celebration of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* and wishes him long life, happiness and prosperity.”

After the recent grand celebrations throughout the country in which the members of this House and those whom they have privilege to represent have all taken a very active and enthusiastic part, it becomes but a formal matter for this House which meets for the first time after this auspicious event to respectfully tender its felicitations to its distinguished President on the celebration of his *Sashtiabdapurthi*. This House is indeed justly proud of having as its President such an illustrious statesman as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar; and we, the members of this Assembly, feel that honours done to him redound also to the glory of this House. To those like myself who had occasion to go out and see things for themselves it was truly a pleasure to see that there was such a manifestation of a people’s affection, respect and admiration for the person of the Dewan in all parts of the State, in every nook and corner of it and in its remotest villages. Grand as were the entertainments in the capital, these formed but a small item when compared to the celebrations got up in honour of the event by the humbler sections of the public in other parts of the State. These spontaneous and country-wide demonstrations of regard and affection for their Dewan must have been a marvel to those who were not conversant with true conditions in Travancore. But to those who know the country and its people these were but the mere expressions of gratitude from a discerning public for what the Dewan had done and was expected to do for their country.

It has required extraordinary courage and determination on the part of the Dewan to resist the clamorous, mischievous and

organised attempts to vilify and obstruct the administration and to thwart the schemes of reform initiated by him even though the vast majority of the people continued to be unperturbed by the tumult. No obstacles would daunt or deter him from the execution of his duties whether the obstacles arose in carrying out the Pallivasal or the Pykara scheme or any other measure of public utility that had been taken up. It would have been possible for no other Dewan to successfully stem the tide and to re-establish peace and contentment in the State which have so unexpectedly been disturbed for a time and to take up and continue the vast schemes of reform chalked out by him for the progress and development of the country. I do not want to advert to the various beneficent reforms undertaken by the Dewan—measures calculated to relieve unemployment, to tap the resources of the country and to enrich her people; but it will suffice to say that the achievement of any one of these important reforms would have been enough to make the name of any Minister illustrious in the history of this State. And our wonder is heightened by the fact that these reforms are carried out without any apparent effort, without notice and bustle and as if all these are mere routine matters of administration. We are really astonished at the rare combination of youthful and vigorous energy with vast and varied administrative experience directed towards a supreme object in view, namely, the prosperity of the State. The people of Travancore have realised how intense is the desire of the Dewan and how easy it is for him to achieve this object, and in the great task he has set before him, he can assuredly count upon their warm co-operation and whole hearted support. It is our duty to express our humble feelings of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for making the services of such an eminent statesman available for the good of the country. We confidently hope and pray that his great services may redound to the prosperity of

Travancore and to the glory of His Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal Maharaja.

With these words I move this motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. M. L. Janardhanan Pillai (Nominated): I have very great pleasure in seconding the motion moved by the Honourable Member, Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai. A long speech is not needed to support the observations made by the Honourable Member. I would take this opportunity to express the appreciation the country has, particularly in regard to the industrial and commercial policy that has been followed in the State during the last few years. After the outbreak of the war Travancore was confronted with a very difficult situation and, with the memories the country had of the last Great War, it was a great relief to find that the Dewan rose equal to the occasion and did everything that was possible and that was needed to safeguard the commercial and industrial interests of the State. The public may not be in possession of all relevant facts to realise the magnitude of this task. By the middle of November, shipping in Travancore reached such a critical stage that it required more than the ordinary abilities of any man to tackle the situation with which Travancore was confronted. Cargo worth several lakhs had to be stored in the godowns of Travancore and nobody was in a position to assure that shipping facilities would be available. It was only the great capacity of the Dewan of Travancore that made it possible to secure the maximum tonnage possible to ship all the export cargo that was awaiting shipment from Travancore. The result was that we were able to ship all the cargo that was ready at that time and imports were also facilitated to a very large extent.

Not only that. People in Travancore would very well remember the dire experience that they had during the last war

when food materials were difficult to obtain and the prices stood very very high. All these difficulties were got over and the whole question was tackled by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in a wonderful manner and the result is that the people of the State have been assured of a very satisfactory economic gain. This is only one aspect of the question about which I wanted to say.

The schemes with regard to the commercial and industrial prosperity of the State and its proper application to the University and the various other reforms spoken by Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai, are sufficient to earn the gratitude of the people of this State at present and for several years to come. It is only in the fitness of things that this House should pay its tribute to the great qualities of Sachivothaima Sir C. P. Samaswami Aiyar, the President of this Assembly. With these words, I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Mr. T. C. Kesava Pillai (*Kalkulam cum Vilavankode*): I beg your permission to speak in Malayalam.

Deputy President: Yes, you may do so.

Mr. T. C. Kesava Pillai: തിങ്കിതാംകുർ ചരിത്രത്തിൽ പ്രസി ലഡി നേടിക്കിട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ള പല മഹാരാജാക്കന്നാക്കം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന എക്കിലും അവരിൽ എല്ലാം അനുഗ്രഹണ്യസ്ഥാനം വഹിക്കുന്ന ശ്രീചിത്രിരതിയും നാടം മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ രേണുകാലമുത്തു ഇന്ത രാജ്യത്തെ ശരിയായവിധത്തിൽ നിയന്ത്രിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു പോകുന്നതിനു തക്ക ഒരു മന്ത്രി സത്തമനെ ലഭിച്ചതു നമ്മുടെ ഭാഗ്യം കൊണ്ടാണ്. സവിവോത്തമൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്പാമിഖരയ്ക്ക് ഇവിടെത്തെ മന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനം കുറേറി തിന്നശേഷം വലിയ കാഞ്ഞങ്ങളെല്ലാം തന്നെ അടുത്തു ഇവിടെ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലോ പിലർ വിചാരിക്കുമായിരിക്കാം. അടുത്തു ഇവിടെ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിൽ കാഞ്ഞങ്ങൾ കാഴ്ത്തിയിൽ ചെരുതായി കാണുന്ന എക്കിലും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഭാവി സന്താനങ്ങൾ അവക്കെ എററാവും വലുതായിരും

നെ സുരിക്കന്നതാണ്. മുട്ടിഷ്ട് എന്നയറിലും മുട്ടിഷ്ടിൽഡ്യൂഫിലും അദ്ദേഹം പലതും പ്രവർത്തിച്ചിട്ടിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുപോലെ തിരുവിതാംകൂരിൽ എന്തെല്ലാം പ്രവർത്തിച്ചിട്ടിണ്ടുണ്ടെന്ന് തിന്ന ഇന്ത അസംഖ്യം തീർജ്ജിക്കുന്ന മാളിക്കുന്ന മുഖം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥാനത്തിൽ നിന്നാവിന്നുതന്നെ സംക്ഷ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നതാണ്. അതു കുടാതെ ഇന്തിയം പലപലകാർത്തും നടത്താൻ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടിണ്ടുണ്ടും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പരിപാടികൊണ്ട് കാണാവുന്നതാണ്. കേൾതുപ്രവേശനവിള്ളുംബരത്തിന്റെ അത്യാവശ്യകതയേയും ആദർശത്തേയും പറി നമ്മുടെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനെ ഉപദേശിച്ചു ലോകത്രയെ എന്ന നില അക്കാദംപ്രതി സമർപ്പിച്ചു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയ സംഗതി നാം എന്നെന്നേയും ഓമ്മി ക്കേണ്ട ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്. ഇന്ത സംഗതി കാഴ്ചയിൽ ഒരു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ട് ലോകത്രയും സ്വർഘിച്ചു കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നുണ്ടും മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനും സംഗതികളാണ് അതിൽ അനുന്നംവിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ജാതിവ്യത്യാസം എന്നിള്ളതു കൂസ്തുപരിക്കുള്ള പജ്ഞികളിൽക്കൂടി കാണാണെന്നുണ്ട്. വെള്ളാള കുസ്തുപരി, പുലയക്കുസ്തുപരി, നായർ കൂസ്തുപരി, മുംഖൻ കൂസ്തുപരി എന്നിങ്ങനെ പലവിധത്തിൽ കാണാണെന്നുണ്ട്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ജാതിവ്യത്യാസമേ പാടില്ലോ എന്ന നിയുതിച്ചു ലോകത്രയും വാണിം നമ്മുടെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ട്. തിരുമനസ്സിലെ രേണുതെ ശോഭായമാനമാക്കി ആദർശത്തിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നതു് മഹാനാഭവനായ സവിവോത്തമൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഐസ്റ്റർ അവർക്കു ഭിട്ടെ ഭരണപാടവം കൊണ്ടാണ്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഘംഡ്ക്ക്രമ്പുചുത്തി ദിനം ഇവിടെവച്ചു കൊണ്ടാടുന്നതിനും സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു് നമ്മുടെ ഭാഗ്യംകൊണ്ടാണ്. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള ഒരു പ്രമേയം അസംഖ്യാളിയിൽ വന്നപ്പോൾ അതു ഭവസ്തുതിയാണ്, അതുകൊണ്ട് അതു സപീകരിക്കാൻ പാടില്ല എന്നാണ് അദ്ദേഹം നിയുതിച്ചാക്കുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഇതൊന്നും നാനെ ഭവസ്തുതിയല്ലോ. തിരുവിതാംകൂരിന്റെ ഇന്നതെത്തന്നിലക്കു അദ്ദേഹം ഇവിടെ ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതും ചെയ്യാൻ പോകുന്നതുമായ കാർത്ത്യങ്ങളെ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിലും തിരുവിതാംകൂരിലെ ഏതൊരു രാജകുമാരം സ്ഥാപിതാപേക്ഷിതമായിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്. തിരുവിതാംകൂരിനെപ്പറ്റി വിജയശാഖയിൽ പലതരത്തിലും പ്രവരണവേല നടത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ട് ഇവിടെതെ വെശിപ്പുതെക്കരാച്ചു പാല തെറിലുംരണകളും ഉണ്ടാ

யிடுள்ள့. அது கலியலூபாங்கிடுது தீவாங் ராமதீப்பித்து யெட பூமேயே தனை ஸாக்ஷர் வகிக்கொள்ளுக்கு. யமாத்மன் புதூ ரெளபாடவதை கூட்டி நாக்க அதைப்பேசுகிறதாய் பல ஸஂநதிகரிசும் முன்ற ஸ்ரீ நாக்கி திறவிதாங்குரிக்கீர ரெளபதை ஶரியாக்கிக்கொண்டுவர நடிக ஏதெல்லாவும் பரிதுநிதிக்கொள்கிறிக்கொன அதேவதை ஹூ அவஸ்ரத்திற் அங்குமூலிக்கேள்ளது நழுதெ கர்த்துப்புமாள்.

மாத்தாஸ்யவம் மஹாராஜாவிக்கீர காலாதார் திறவிதாங்கு ரிக் ராஜாடோவிக்கூடிய) அங்கெகாங்பேசுக்காயிதன ஏற்காங்கிடுது ஸக்கும் மாதுமாளைக்கிடு திறவிதாங்குரிக்கீலே பலாக்காங்கேலூயும் ஏதேகாப்பித்து ஒரு மஹாராஜாவிக்கீர கிழித் தூக்கியது நிமித்தம் ஹூ ராஜுதாரிக் பலவிய நாக்கது உள்ளயிடுள்ளு. அதிகை ஒடங்க திறவிதாங்குரிக்கீலே பல ஸஂநாங்காங்கேலூயும் ஸமாபந்காங்கேலூயும் ஏதேகாப்பித்து அ சுத்தித்து சுத்தம் ராஜுதாரிக் காலியுல்லியும் ஜங்காங்கீக்கே மாவும் உள்ளாவுக்குத்து ஏற்காங்கிடுது அதும்வதை முன்கீரத்தி பூவாத்தி பூத்துக்கு தீவாங்ஸுகொள்ளுள்.

திறவிதாங்குரிக்கீர ஏது காலாதார் ஏற்காங்கிடுது நாக்கும் நாக்காலும் அது ஒடங்கி அரியுந்திக் கூநாந்தை கெலியோள் ஏத்தூநுக்கொள்டு ஸாயிக்கொனதாள். அதிகை ஒடங்கி நீராதாங்கிடுவேள்ளது பூவாத்திக்கீர கால்ஸுப்பாக்கு பலத்தி வழுதே உபகரிக்கொனதாள். ஹண்டிகை திறவிதாங்குரிக்கீர ஏது காலாதார் ஏற்காங்கிடு ஸஂநதி நாக்காலும் ஹூ மஜ்ஜிராம்பிஸ்த ஹாகாகொள்ளுக்கீர கால்க்கீர ஸகலு விவரவும் அரியாக்க ஸாயிக்கொனதாள். மேலும் திறவிதாங்குரிக்கீர நாக்காங்கேள்ளி பலதும் பூவாத்திக்கொனதிக்கை மஹாராஜாவுதிதமந ஸுக்கீலே ரெளபதை பூசாங்கார்மாக்கொனதிக்கை ஏதெல்லாவும் பூய தீக்கொன ஸசிவோதமை ஸர் ஸி. பி. ராமசுப்பாமினானுக் காலை அங்குமூலிக்கொன ஹூ பூமேயவதை ஏதாக்க ஹாக்குமாயி பிள்காடுகளை. அடுத்து நமாத்மனத்திற் கை யீரெஷன்பாங்காங்கொனம் ரெளதறு ஜநகொள்ளும் ஹாக்கும் ஸஂநதி அதேவத்திக்கீர பரமங்கு கிரி போலும், மேலுமைக்கொள்ளுக்கூடும் நெதக்கொாக்க தனையும், ஸமதிக்கேமங்குத்திக்கை ஸஂநாயமில்லை. திறவிதாங்குர் ஹாக்குக்காலுமாவர அதேவத்திக்கீர நாமாய்யு அங்கூரிக்கொக்க தனை செதுங்காள்.

Srimati T. Narayani Amma B. A. (Nominated): I have very great pleasure in supporting the motion. *Sashtiabdapurthi* is a happy and auspicious occasion in the life of any person and much more so in the life of a distinguished personage like Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, whose life has been one of glorious achievements. Indeed, there is none who can look back to his past career with greater satisfaction and to his future life with greater hope than the distinguished Dewan of Travancore. In Travancore he has given a new life and impetus to every department of administration and has introduced new schemes of far-reaching importance which mark the dawn of a new era of greater progress, greater prosperity and greater glory for Travancore. The *Sashtiabdapurthi* of a Dewan who has rendered such signal service to Travancore and whose administration bids fair to produce even more glorious results in the future is undoubtedly an event of national importance for Travancore. It is only in the fitness of things that, following the demonstration of popular joy in connection with that happy function, we, the members of this body should also pray the Almighty to shower His choicest blessings on our President. With these words, I support the motion.

Mr. M. Ramiah Pillai (Chirayinkil cum Nedumangad): I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution moved by Mr. Rama-krishna Pillai. In doing so I would move that the words "The celebration of" in the resolution be deleted. The resolution as amended would read thus: -

"This Assembly respectfully tenders its felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar LL. D., the President of the Assembly on his *Sashtiabdapurthi* and wishes him long life, happiness and prosperity."

I hope the amendment will be accepted by the honourable members of this House.

Deputy President: Is the amendment accepted by Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai?

Mr. N. Ramakrishna Pillai: I have no objection in accepting it.

Mr. K. Kunju Paniker, B. A., B. L., (*Mavelikara cum Kunnathur*): I also support the motion. Of all the people in the State, Ezhavas owe a debt of gratitude to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Though the Ezhavas in Travancore are numerically superior to any other community in the State, I say that they were given the full human right, full citizenship only after the assumption of the administration of Travancore by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. I say that with special reference to the Temple Entry Proclamation. Though the Temple Entry Proclamation was issued by His Highness the Maharaja, it was brought into its full significance solely by the ability of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Had it not been for the efficient executive power of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar I am of opinion that the Temple Entry could not have been an accomplished fact as it is enjoyed today. Outside Travancore, in British India, they, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi have attempted to get the temple entry with full significance and we see the ludicrous failure in that part of the Empire. I find that in Travancore even distant pollution was observed. Therefore, Temple Entry has been effected in its complete significance solely because of the administrative capacity of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. I submit that for single matter alone the Ezhavas owe a special gratitude to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Not only the Ezhavas but all the backward sections of the Hindu community owe a debt of gratitude to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for Temple Entry. As

for the ability, capacity and talents of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the mover has referred at length to those things. With these words, I support the motion before the House.

Mr. T. T. Kesavan Sastri (Nominated): எாந் வழிர ஸநேதா ஷத்ராட்டக்டியாஸ் ஹூ உபகேஷ்பதெத அந்தகுலிக்ஷனாது. திவாந் பூஸியாந்திரீந்த ஹீஸ்பூவீபூத்தியை அதுமதிகானும் அதாங்ஸகரங்கை ஸஂகியாக்கானும் செய்யா ஹூ உபகேஷ்பதெத பிள்ளானானால் டும் தலகுடி உள்ளங்காஸ் ஏதாந் விவாரிக்கனது". மஹாநாய ஸந் ஸி. பி. ராமஸ்பாமி அந்தூர் அவர்க்கர ஹவிடதெத ரெள்ளாரா கடேயுரை அது ஸட்டத் அந்தூர்நாயியமானதூ. ஸகல ஜநகாலாலும் அடிக்காண்டார் வங்காசி லோகபூஸிலமாய கேஷ்டமுவேஶன விழங்புவரதின் பேரு ரக்காயிடான்தூ அந்தேயை ரெள்ள அதாங்கிடிது. தித்திதாங்குர் ஜநதகை மாதுமதூ ஹதர ராஜ்யவாஸிகரங்கைபேஷும் அது மஹாநீய ஸஂநிவைத்தாது அந்தேயதெத்தூ அடிக்காண்டிக்கவைந் கஷிதது. பூதே கிடூம் மஹாராஜாவு தித்தமேநியைபோலை அவஶ ஸமுதாயங்களுடைய ந் தூஸ்மரள்கை ஸந்வட்டாபாதுகிடுதான்தை ராஜ்யகைமதின் ஸந்வோ பரி ஸமாந்தாலூய பூத்தாக்கை அந்தேயை கைக்கொந்து. ஹதி நிடெ ராஜ்யகைவகாஸ் ஸஂபெயிடு வங்கேவந் டுக்கிமித்தாலேது ராவு கூக்கியுதை ராத்தமாக்கை அதெந் காலாருபுலியை பூகா ஶிப்பிக்கை செய்திடுத்து நாமானு மக்கானிடாயாலிடிபூதூ. ஹங்க கெ யிரங்க ரெள்ளதற்குத்தானு ஸகல கலாவழிதானாக்காது தித்தவி தாங்குர் யூளியேஷனிரியித் தினங் ஏது. ஏது. யி, பெதும் வாலிக்கை அதை வெய்திரிக்கன. ஸந் ஸி. பி. ராமஸ்பாமி அந்தே கதை வூக்கிமாயாதறுதெத அந்தேயதெந் கூதுக்கரம்போசும் பூ ஶாஸ்விக்கைதிரிக்கனிபூ. மஹாராஜாரு தித்தமேநியையும் ராஜ்யதெத்தூ விஶபாஸ்துவும் பிள்ளாக்கர்க்காயாது அந்தேயதெந்தினாடு வெபூஜங்கால கூள்ளாய அவுப்பாஜமாய ஸ்தூபமவூதுமாநாமரவுகர ஷஷ்ட்ரபூபீபூத்த யோட்டகுடி ஏக்கு, பூகாசிதமாகித்தின். தித்தவிதாங்குரிலும் வெழி யிலும் ஷஷ்ட்ரபூபூத்தி அதுஏலாஷ்கை யாராகுமாயினான. ஸகல கை அந்தேயதெந் கீத்தியை பூக்கித்த து. அந்வயயி ஸ்தாக கை அதை அதாங்கிடு. தித்தவிதாங்குரிது அந்தேயதெந் ஷஷ்ட்ரபூ

ചുത്തിക്കു മുൻപു് സചിവോത്തമ മുഹാത്രപത്രിയും സചിവോത്തമ പുരം കാളനിയും വെങ്ങാനുകൂലിവാൻ സർ സി. പി. മെമോറിയൽ ഗ്രന്ഥഭാല്യും മാത്രമേ ഉണ്ടാക്കിങ്ങനൊരു ഓർമ്മയുള്ളത്. എന്നാൽ ഇപ്പോൾ എത്രയെത്ര സ്ഥാപനങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്ന പറയാൻ നിവർത്തിയില്ല. എത്രയു ക്ഷണത്തിൽ ജനസന്നദ്ധം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വ്യക്തിമാഹാത്മ്യം അറിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. കഴിഞ്ഞൊക്കാല്യും സചിവോത്തമപുരം കാളനി ഉൽക്കാടുന്ന വെള്ളക്കൊണ്ടു് ദീർഘദിയായ ഗവണ്മെന്റു ചീഫ് സെക്രട്ടറി മി. എം. കെ. നീലകുമാര്യും അവർകൂടി ചെയ്ത പ്രസ്താവന സർത്തു ഫലിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിാൻയും അവർകൂടുടെ മഹാഭയാഗ്രതകൾ പ്രശംസിക്കുന്നും അനുബാധി സ്പൂരകങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കുമെന്നില്ലപ്രായപ്രേടക്കും ചെയ്ത ആശംസ മുന്നു ധാരാളമായി ഫലിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. തുണിപിതിരതിങ്ങനാടു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ജന നക്ഷത്രത്തോടുകൂടി ജനദിനമാണെല്ലാ സചിവോത്തമന്റെ ജനദിനവും പൊതുസ്വീകൃതി തിന്റെ ഭവ്യതകൾ എത്രയും എത്രതോളമായിരിക്കുന്നു എന്ന പരിഞ്ഞിവന്നാൽ രാജുനീതിശാഖ മന്ത്രിക്കു വരിപ്പു വെക്കല്ലോ” എന്ന പ്രഖ്യാതവചനമോത്താൽ നമ്മുടെ ദിവാൻജി അവർകൂടുടെ സുഖശാഭന്മായ ഭരണം രാജുത്തിന്റെ ഭാസുരമായ ഭാവുകൾപ്പറ്റിക്കു നിഭാനമാണിന്നീങ്ങമെന്നു പുണ്ണമായി വിശ്വസിക്കാവുന്നതാണെല്ലാ മുഴുവൻ അവസരം കുറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്ന വിഭാഗങ്ങൾക്കു മായ ദിവാൻ സചിവോത്തമൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിാൻ അവർകൂടുടെ കെ. നീ. എഎ. മു. എൽ. എൽ. ഡി. അവകർക്കും സർപ്പമംഗളങ്ങളും ഉത്തരങ്ങളരം ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്ന വാൻ എന്നം പ്രത്മിക്കുകയും മുഴുവൻ ഉപക്ഷേപത്രം ആത്മാത്മമായി അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നും ചെയ്ത കൊള്ളേണ്ണ.

ஒப்பு காலோன்று வெழிடுத்த ஸ்மாரகத்தில் அவர்களைத்தாய்க்கூடுதல் தொகை ஒத்தெடுத்த சமுதாயவும் வெழிடுத்த ஸ்மாரகத்தைமல்லும் அடுத்ததின் கீழ் பேரினா பெறுமதிலை அயிக்குதியிக்கு ஸஂததியாக்குமானா கட்ட.

Mr. J. E. A. Pereira (*Commerce and Industry, South*): Sir, I wish to associate myself with the congratulatory expressions pronounced by the Honourable Members on the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan-President of this House. In doing so, I shall try to be as brief as possible, for the simple reason that it is quite unnecessary to dwell at length with his qualities of head and heart as he is one of the best known personalities of India. His breadth of outlook and humanitarian views are best known in the emancipation of a section of people who were denied God for a long period and granting them entry into temples.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has made his mark in many spheres. In politics, in literature and in administrative functions he occupies the front rank.

In fact, the future historian of India would not be able to find a personality so colourful as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar among her nation builders. He is a brilliant advocate, a student of art, a man of letters, possessing a wide outlook on life. The modern conception of life is that longevity is only six score and ten. At the *Sashtiabdapurthi* a man is expected to attain the full maturity of wisdom. If this is so, we can very well hope that the future achievements of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar would eclipse all his previous records. Wishing him several years more of useful life I support the motion before the House.

Mr. Kottalil P. Abraham, B. A., B. L., (*Muvattupuzha cum Devicolam*): Sir, in supporting the motion I wish to add a few

words to what has already been expressed in this House. The *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was celebrated with joy throughout the length and breadth of Travancore. It is only in the fitness of things that his birthday was celebrated with such acclamation as his services to the State were of immense value to the people. So, it is no wonder that His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to confer on him the title of "Sachivothama."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's name will be remembered as the Dewan-President of this Assembly and so it behoves this House to remember the happy occasion of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* by offering him our heartfelt felicitations.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's name first became familiar a decade ago when he appeared for Travancore as an Advocate pleading for our claims according to Interportal agreements.

When His Highness the Maharaja assumed Ruling Powers we see Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as the Legal and Constitutional Adviser to His Highness. Then he became the Dewan of the State and for the last three years we see him in that capacity. His achievements as the Head of the Administration were always a series of successes as his life throughout has been. He is the father of the present bicameral legislature of which this Assembly forms a part; he has played a prominent part in bringing our the historic Temple Entry Proclamation. Of the development schemes which he has carried out the Pallivassal Hydro Electric project is proving a boon to the industrial progress of our State. Then there is the Transport Scheme the benefit of which the people have now begun to enjoy and understand. These are some of the very big schemes which would perpetuate the name of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer in Travancore. His personality and qualities are to

be remembered by us for ever to be respected and loved. He is gifted with a dynamic personality, winning manners, a wide knowledge of men and things, and, above all, a uniform sympathy for anybody who comes into contact with him. As the President of this House he was always alert in keeping and maintaining its prestige and decorum. At the same time he is solicitous about the prestige and privileges of the Honourable Members who form this Assembly. The dignity and prestige of our University has been added to by its conferment on him the tittle of LL. D. Sir, this House feels proud in having as its President one who has been pronounced by no less a person than the late Mr. Montague as the cleverest man he has come across. May God give him many more years of useful life. With these words, I support the motion.

Mr. K. R. Narayanan (*Vaikam cum Kottayam*): സർസി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിണ്ണയുർ എൽ. എൽ. ഡി. അവർക്കളുടെ ഒഴിവുള്ളത്തിനുള്ളാവശ്യത്തെ അനുമോദിക്കുന്ന തു നിയുത്തത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് എ നേരകിലും സംസാരിക്കാതിരുന്നാൽ ഒരു തു തു ചുവന്നുവെന്ന നിലയിൽ തുതു വിലോപവും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഒരു പെരുവൻ എന്ന നിലയിൽ ഒരു അപരാധവുമായിരിക്കും. എൻ്റെ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ദ്രുതിയിൽ രാജഗ്രീകാര്യപദ്ധതികൾ അവർക്കും പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ പിന്നോട്ടെസമുദായക്കാരുടെ അവശ്യക്കാരിക്കും പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കാനായി സർ, സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിണ്ണയുർ ചെയ്ത ഒരുസംഗതി ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിളംബരം പുരപ്പെട്ടവിക്കുന്നതിനു മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനെ ഉപദേശിച്ച് എന്നാണ്. എത്രയോ കൊല്ലുമായി എത്രയോ തുരബാണ്ടുകളുണ്ടായി അനേകലക്ഷമാളുകൾ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനമില്ലാതെ വിഷമാളുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരു പരിഹാരം വരുത്തുകയെന്നാണെങ്കിൽ ക്ഷിപ്രസാധ്യമായ ഒരു സംഗതിയല്ല. മഹാലിംഗൻറും പല നിവെന്നകളും പേരിൽ എത്രയോ ലക്ഷം ആളുകൾ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തിനെതിരാക്കി വി മഹാനാശങ്ങൾ നിത്യപണ്ണാശങ്ങൾ നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതിനെ ദേഹത്തോടു സാമർപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ളാതെയാക്കി ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തിനും നാളുലമായ ഒരു അന്തരീക്ഷം ഉണ്ടാക്കിയ സചിവോത്തമൻ സർസി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിണ്ണയുടെ പ്രവുത്തി എത്രയും ദ്രോഹനന്ദിയമാ

കും. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ്, താൻ പ്രാരംഭത്തിൽ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെപ്പുറി എവെക്കിലും സംസാരിക്കാതെയിരുന്നാൽ അതെന്നാൽശ്വരൻറെ നിലക്കിൽ ഒരു തൃത്യവിലോപമായിത്തീരും എന്ന താൻ പറഞ്ഞതും.

രാമയും ഭളിവായുടെ കാലം കഴിത്തത്തിനു ശേഷം അത്തരത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു ദിവാൻജിയേൽ ലഭിക്കുന്നതിനു നാം വളരെ കാത്തിരിക്കേണ്ടതായിവന്നു. സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഐസ്റ്റുർ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഭരണം കയ്യേററ്റു എവെക്കാൽ കാലഘട്ടത്തിലായിരുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതു നാമക്കല്ലൂപ്പേക്കിം അറിയും. അതിശക്തിയായ രാഷ്ട്രീയ പ്രക്ഷാംശം, തെരംകട്ടെ, ശരിയാകട്ടെ, കന്നുകക്കാരി മുതൽ ഇന്നുവംവരെ ഇളക്കി മറിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു ഒരു പ്രധാനമഘട്ടത്തിലാണ് അദ്ദേഹം ഇവിടെ ഭരണം കയ്യേററ്റു്. രാജുത്തിന്റെ പല ഭാഗത്തുനിന്നും രേണുതെപ്പറ്റി അതികർക്കശേമായ നിത്രുപണങ്ങൾ ചുരുപ്പുട്ടവിച്ചു കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഒരു പതനംതിലാണ് ഒരുജിന്റെ നാം മത്ര്യവും തന്റെടവും കാണിക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഓളംബില്ലാതെയും കാറവില്ലാതെയും ശാന്തമായി കീടക്കുന്ന ജലാശയത്തിൽ വണ്ണിവച്ചുകൊണ്ടു പോകാൻ വാദിക്കാരൻറെ മുറിത്തണ്ടാം മരിക്കഴുക്കാലും കൊണ്ടു നിഷ്ട്രീല ധാനം സാധിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. പക്ഷേ, സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യുർ ഈ വണ്ണിയുടെ കൃഷ്ണായു കയ്യേററ്റ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ വണ്ണി രാജുത്തിന്റെ ചുംബകം പിടിച്ചു സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ ഒരു രഹിതമായ ഓളവും ചുഴലിക്കാറും വീശിക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. യാതൊരു നിരാശയുംകൂടാതെ യാതൊരു ഭീഷണിയും പ്രയോഗിക്കാതെ രാജുത്തു ഒരു പ്രശ്നത്തെ വരുത്താനുള്ള തന്റെടം, നിത്രുപണങ്ങലോടു എതിരിട്ടാനുള്ള ശേഷം മുതലായവ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനാണ്ടായിരുന്നു എന്നുള്ള ഒരുബാധി തന്നെ നാം അദ്ദേഹത്തെ എറററവും മുതജ്ഞത്തേയാട്ടക്കുടി അനുഭൂതിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

സഹിവോത്തമൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഐസ്റ്റുർ അവർക്കുള്ള പ്രശ്നവും പുതുത്തിലുള്ള മാസത്തിൽ ആലോച്ചിച്ചേണ്ടാ, ആ മാസം ഒരു കൊല്ലുത്തമിനു മുൻപുകടക്കം നോക്കിയാൽ നിത്രുപണത്തിൽനിന്നും വിമർശനത്തിന്നും നിശ്ചലകരം വീശിക്കിരിക്കുന്നതായി കാണാം. അതുകൊള്ള തന്നെം ചെയ്യുന്നതു നിന്നും അദ്ദേഹം എത്ര പുലിമാനാണ്, എത്ര തന്റെടക്കാരനാണ്, തിരുവിതാംകൂറിനെ എത്രം ദ്രോഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ടും തെളിയുന്നുണ്ടു്. അദ്ദേഹം തത്തിന്റെ വ്യക്തിപത്രത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു താൻ നന്നാം തന്നെ പറയേണ്ടിയാണശ്രദ്ധിപ്പി. ചക്രവർത്തന്മാരുമാണ് സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഐസ്റ്റുർ.

അവർകളുടെ ക്രീഡകാണ്ടിക കനാകമാരി മതൽ മുന്നുംവരെയ്യും നോക്കുന്നതു്, മിമാലയാ പർവതവുംകടനു ചങ്കവാളിത്തെയും നോക്കി ക്ഷോണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു.

ഇവിടെ സാമ്പത്തികമായ പരിപാടികൾ പലതും കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. പജ്ഞിവാസൽ പലതിൽ സംബന്ധിച്ച നേരണ്ടു ബുദ്ധിരംഗമേളുന്നാവസ്ഥത്തിൽ തൊൻ്തരനെ നിത്രപണംചെയ്യും. പജ്ഞി വാസൽ പലതി എന്ന സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്രേണ്ടം ഒരു മുയൽക്കാമ്പായിരുന്നു; ഒരു നാലുഴു് ചക്രമുൻപു തൊൻ പജ്ഞിവാസലിൽ ചെന്ന നോക്കി ഇം പലതി മുലം തിങ്കവിതാംകുറിലെ സാമ്പത്തികനിലെ വളരെ ശ്രദ്ധാനന്ദമായ ഒരു ഘട്ടത്തിൽ എത്തിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം അവിതക്കിത്തമാണ്. രാജുത്തിലെ ഭ്രഹ്മക്ഷാമാളികൾ പജ്ഞിവാസൽപലതി പരാജയമാക്കുന്ന പരഞ്ഞത്രേപ്പാർഡ് പിൻ്തിരിന്തരുപോകാതെ തന്റെ കാത്തിപരിപാടി സാധിത്രായമാണെന്നു കാണിക്കാൻ നിത്രപക്കണ്ണടക്കംലുംതിൽ നിന്നു തുമ്പിച്ചു സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യർ അവർകളുടെ തന്റെ അത്മാത്മാത്വത്തെ, അദ്വാതാതിശ്രീ ആയിരമായി റം പ്രതിമകൾ ഇവിടെവച്ചാണും അഭൈഞ്ചം അധ്യാക്കമാക്കിയില്ല. നിത്രപണങ്ങൾ തെററാണെന്നു അദ്ദേഹം പ്രവർത്തിക്കാണ്ടിക്കാണിച്ചു. നിത്രപണം തുമ്പിക്കാണുള്ള സന്നദ്ധതയും പരിഹാരങ്ങൾ ഇണ്ടാക്കാനുള്ള മഹാമനസ്കതയും അദ്ദേഹത്തിനുണ്ട്.

ഇം രാജുത്രത്വപിഷമം ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്ന നോണോ പബ്ലിക്കേഷൻ സർപ്പി സു് സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യർ ഇവിടെതെ അബ്ദുപ്പസർ ആയിരുന്ന കാലാന്തരം ദിവാൻജി ആയശേഷവും ഇം കാര്യത്തിനായി തൊൻ പലപ്രാവശ്യവും അദ്ദേഹത്തെ കാണാൻപോകിട്ടുണ്ട്. ആ സന്ദർഭങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം വളരെ വിനിതനായി സ്പീകരിക്കുന്നതിൽ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യർ കാണിക്കുന്ന സന്നദ്ധതയും മഹാമനസ്കതയും ഫ്രോഡീന്റെയാണ്. ഇം അസംഖ്യാളിയിൽനിന്നുകൊണ്ടു എത്രക്കും ശ്രദ്ധാലും നിത്രപണങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തിനശേഷവും അവിടെ ചെല്ലും അദ്ദേഹം സമഭാവനയോടുകൂടി സ്പീകരിക്കുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനും വിശ്വാസവും, നാട്ടിനോടുള്ള സ്നേഹം, രാജുതോടുള്ള മമത ഇവ നിത്രപണങ്ങൾ സഹിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ശക്തിയെന്നുകൂണും.

ഹിന്ദുചന്ദ്രക്കങ്ങളിൽ രാമരാജ്യം എന്നുള്ളതു ഉത്തമമപ്പെ തന്റെ പരിയുംപരാണോ. അതായതു, രാമരാജ്യരേണും എന്ന പര

ഞാൻ നല്ല ഭരണമെന്നാണ് അത്ഥാം. ഇവിടെ നാടക ഒരു രാമരാജ്യ ഭരണമല്ല, രണ്ട് രാമരാജ്യ ഭരണാണെങ്കിൽ. രാമയും ഭരണവായുടെ കാലത്തു മഹാരാജാവു രാമനല്ലായിരുന്നു. ഇന്നാകട്ടെ ധാരാധികാരിയായും രാമനായും ഭരണമാണെന്നും രണ്ട് രാമനായും ഭരണം എറ്റവും അഭിരാമമായിരിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതിനു സാധ്യമില്ല. ഇവിടെതെ അസമതപ്രകാശന താടക പോകട്ടെ. അനീ തിയാകന പുതന നശിക്കേണ്ടെന്നും ഉപദേശം ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്ന പലായനം ചെയ്യേണ്ടെന്നും രണ്ടരിക്കണും തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പാകട്ടെ. നിശിത്തിന്ത്യപണ്ഡാദിക്കിടയിൽ മഹാരാജാവു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനും ഉപദേശിക്കാൻ സചിവോത്തമാൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യർ സന്നദ്ധ നാകട്ടെ. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു ആരോഗ്യമുണ്ടാകട്ടെ എന്നുള്ള ആശംസ തൊന്തരം ചെയ്യുന്നില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു ഷഷ്ഠ്യമുഖ്യത്തിയായി എന്നാൻ തെളിപ്പാർ തന്നെ എനിക്കിം ഷഷ്ഠ്യടിശ്വാസമുഖ്യത്തിയായില്ലെല്ലെങ്കിലും സംശയം തോന്നി, അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു ചെച്ചതന്നും കണ്ണാൽ ഷഷ്ഠ്യമുഖ്യത്തിയായി എന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കാൻ നിവാരിക്കില്ല, ജാതകത്തിൽ പറിപ്പിച്ചുള്ള രബൈലുമനെന്ന പരിധാശള്ളൂ. അദ്ദേഹം തന്നെ ഷഷ്ഠ്യമുഖ്യത്തിയായി എന്നു പറയാണെങ്കിൽ അതു വിശ്വസിക്കാം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു ആരോഗ്യം തന്നെ നല്ലതാകയാൽ തൊന്തരം അതിനെ ആശംസ സിച്ചു വർഖിപ്പിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല.

Mr. N. John Joseph (Nominated) : സചിവോത്തമ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യർ കെ. സി. എൽ. ഇ, എൽ. എൽ. ഡി. അവർക്കു കൂടെ ഷഷ്ഠ്യമുഖ്യത്തിന്മാരക്കുറഞ്ഞും അംഗവും മുൻപിൽ റിക്കാർഡും ചെയ്യുന്നും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെംബർ രാമത്രഷ്ട്രപിള്ള അവർക്കു കൊണ്ടവനിട്ടുള്ള പ്രമേയത്തെ തൊന്തരം മാർദ്ദമായി പിന്തു ആദ്ദേഹം അതിനു സർമ്മാ അർഹൻ തന്നുണ്ടാണ്. സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യർ അവർക്കുള്ള തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പും ദിവാൻജിയായി ലഭിച്ചതും തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പും കൈത്താൻ. ഇവിടെതെക്കാർ കുട്ടതലും സാല്പ്പതകലും ബും. ഇന്ത്യയിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു ലഭിക്കാമെന്നിതനിട്ടും ഇവിടെതെ ദിവാൻപദം സപ്രിക്കിച്ചതിൽ അദ്ദേഹം പ്രശ്നപ്പിച്ചിരുന്ന രൂഗം അഭിനന്ദനിയം തന്നെ. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു വിശാലവീക്ഷണം, കമ്മകൾ, ഇവ കൂടാം അന്ത്യാദശങ്ങളാണ്. ചുമതലയും ഭാരവും വസ്തിച്ച ചെലവും ഉള്ള പുത്രൻ പുത്രൻ പലതികരം ആപീകരിച്ച നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടവരും

നാതിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ കമ്മ്യൂണിറ്റേഴും ദൈഖ്യവും സ്ഥൂലപ്രഖ്യാതനെന്നു. യാമാസ്യിതികമാരായ ഒരു വലിയകൂട്ടം ആളുകൾ തങ്ങളുടെ നിശ്ചിതമായ എതിർപ്പുണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടും പൊന്നതനും തിരക്കേണിയെ ഉപദേശിച്ച ഇവിടത്തെ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ എല്ലാ മിന്നക്കരിക്കണ പ്രവേശനം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഐസ്റ്റ് പ്രഭാപ്പും ദൈഖ്യവും സ്ഥൂലപ്രഖ്യാതനും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ദൈഖ്യത്തിനു തുണ്ട് വിളംബം മക്കോഡാഹരണവുമാണ്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു അപൂർവ്വ വയസ്സായി എന്ന പരഞ്ഞാൽ പ്രമാദപ്പും ആക്ഷം വിശ്രദിക്കാൻ കഴിവുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതല്ല. അദ്ദേഹം തുനും അരോഗ്യംഗാത്രന്താന്നായാണ്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥാരകമായി ഇവിടെ ദയക്കുത കാളനിയും ഒരു മുഗാടുപത്രിയുമാണുണ്ടായിരുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഒരു ആപ്പുണ്ടുത്തിസ്ഥാരകമായി രാജുത്തിന്റെ നാനാഭാഗത്തും പലവിധി സ്ഥാരകങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിക്കുണ്ടു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വ്യാതിയുടെ ശുക്രം ദശ ആരംഭിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളൂ. ഇതുനേതാളും യോഗ്യനായ ഒരു മന്ത്രിവരനെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തതിൽ ശ്രീമരിത്തിരതിരുന്നാർ പൊന്നതനും പ്രഭാപ്പും ബുദ്ധിപൂർക്കമായ പ്രഭുത്വി ലോകം ഉള്ളിനാളും വാഴ്ത്തപ്പെടുന്നതാണ്. സചിവോത്തമ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഐസ്റ്റ് അവർക്കരിക്കുന്ന പുരുഷായസ്സ് മറ്റൊരു വംശം തന്നെ. അദ്ദേഹം ശ്രീമംഖസ്സായിരിക്കാൻ ഞാൻ ജഗദിശപരനെ പ്രാത്മിക്കണം.

അദ്ദേഹം ഇനിയും വളരെക്കാലം ഇതിലും പ്രശ്നപ്പോരാട്ടക്കി ദിവാൻ പാദം അലംകരിച്ച തിരവിതാംകുർ ജനത്തിക്കു നമ്മേഖ യും ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് കാക്കിക്കൊടു എന്നതു പ്രാതമനയോട്ടക്കി ഞാൻ തുണ്ട് പ്രശ്നയായെന്നും മറ്റൊരു വംശം തന്നെ. അദ്ദേഹം അനുകൂലിക്കണം.

Hon. President: Before we proceed further, may we suggest to this House that the next motion standing in the name of Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai be allowed to be moved so that the discussion may proceed simultaneously, since both the motions are of a complementary character. I think that some time may be saved thereby, but, I leave it entirely to the House. Is this suggestion acceptable to the House?

(Honourable Members indicated assent.)

I think Mr. Rarnakrishna Pillai may move the next motion.

Mr. N. Ramakrishna Pillai: Sir, I move:

“ This Assembly tenders its hearty and respectful felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the President of the Assembly on the Honorary Degree of LL. D., conferred upon him by the Travancore University.”

The idea of a University for Travancore was started more than a quarter of a century ago and, though investigations by committees and discussions on various occasions had taken place since then, no tangible result ensued until the matter was taken up by Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. He felt no difficulty at all in bringing the University into existence at once. The University is now an accomplished fact and is intended to bring into effect a new method of education suited to the requirements of the people. The University has been honouring itself by honouring one of the most distinguished sons of India. I move this motion for acceptance of the House.

Mr. M. R. Narayana Pillai Bar-at-Law (Tiruvella): I rise to support the motion so ably moved by my honourable friend. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is a great man. His activities in many fields in India show his is a name to be conjured with. His indefatigable courage, coupled with his imposing personality have already made him win through many a difficult situation. His wide outlook, his keen insight and above all, his deep knowledge of men and things have already established how able a person he is. The vote of this House, of which he is the President, shows how much his work is being appreciated by the country. I support this motion.

Mr. E. E. Pandarathil (*The Travancore Jenmis South*): Sir, we have the good fortune to felicitate such an able administrator on his completing sixty years of life of which a single year would have immortalised and satisfied any other individual. We have to congratulate ourselves because, as one of the honoured guests remarked on that occasion, it is a significant fact that our Dewan-President had completed his sixtieth year in the service of our mother land—significant that he is placing at our disposal the fruits of a rich and variegated life-time of experience of not only British India but the whole world. It is only fitting and proper that we, as the sons of a great country, celebrated in a great and fitting manner this happy occasion. A bust presented by the Nair Service Society has been erected in the vestibule of the Legislative Chamber in fit commemoration of his legal acumen and legislative experience. This occasion has been most worthily used by all and we see that this occasion was the starting point of several schemes, several philanthropic and essential schemes for the general well-being of the public of this State. Several wards to several hospitals, opening of several libraries and such other institutions marked the commemoration of this great event. We have again to congratulate ourselves that in the all too short period in which we had experience of his administration he had proved himself worthy of the great name which he always carried with him. He has shown immense courage, forbearance and fortitude in the matter of polymic and reasonable debate during troubulous times in clearing misunderstandings and misrepresentations and also in exercising control with what Mr. K. R. Narayanan has specified in Malayalam and which I may be permitted to translate as “the eye of Mars to command.” We have got already the seeds of several details of administration which are simply the beginnings of a great future like the Transport Scheme, etc. We have got the architect of Pykara for

the consummation and inauguration of our Pallivassal and we have got a cultured creator of a University, and his endeavours will be to cover it with further and greater glory. It is, therefore, only natural that this University has distinguished itself by conferring on him the title of LL. D. We already see the beginning of several schemes of economic and cultural value. We have again especially to congratulate ourselves on the fact that we do not feel the pinch of the difficulties caused by the present war. Those of us who remembet the last war, (which war was only the last but one) will also remember the difficulties to which we were subjected. The present state of affairs in which we have to be told to be reminded of the present war is all due to the dynamic and statesmanlike activities of our great Dewan who is thoroughly conversant and quick in anticipation with the happenings in other parts of the world. His monuments are his own works. And we will have occasion to remember that great man of culture whose sixtieth birthday is but a title page to a series of progressive acts in a re-generated Travancore. I heartily associate myself with the sentiments expressed in both the motions.

Mr. E. P. Varghese M. A. B. L., (Ambalapuzha cum Shertala): With very great pleasure, I join my honourable friends in the sentiments expressed by them on the resolutions moved by the honourable member, Mr. N. Ramakrishna Pillai. The honourable members who preceded me in this debate have recounted the qualities of head and heart of our present Dewan-President. Sir, it has been said of a great politician of the 18th Century that he gave to party what was meant for mankind. I might say of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar that he has given to Travancore what was meant for mankind. His talents, his brilliance, his achievements are such that he should have adorned the Presidential Chair of more august Assemblies than ours. His foresight and

statesmanship, and his universal popularity, have been recognised by the many felicitations which he received on the day of his *Sashtiabdapurthi*. That is the surest index of the popularity of his administration in this State.

His Highness the Maharaja, with an unerring instinct for finding out talented men for carrying on the administration of this State, has chosen a person of such world-wide reputation as Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar; and we, Travancoreans, have every reason to be proud that we have been blessed with such an administrator.

Sir, as one of the speakers remarked, Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar became Dewan not under ordinary circumstances. When the history of Travancore is written, the period of the administration of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar will certainly be considered as one of the most remarkable and epoch-making in the history of our State. He assumed reigns of office when there was upheaval in the political, social and religious spheres; it was a time of great stress and strain for the Government. Now, he has steered the ship of the State to very calm waters without any danger to the citizens or the State. Once more I would like to express our deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for appointing, as the Dewan of Travancore, a statesman of the brilliance of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

We all wish Sir Ramaswamy Aiyar many more years of peaceful and progressive administration in this State.

Mr. Dominic Joseph B. A. B. L.,: (*Vaikom cum Kottayam*): I wish to associate myself with the fine sentiments expressed by the honourable members on the floor of this house.

The achievements of Sir Ramaswami Aiyar have been enumerated here, and I do not think there is any necessity for me to repeat them.

Sir, Travancore has been blessed by a long line of illustrious Dewans. There have been statesmen and administrators of the stamp of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir P. Rajagopalachariar and V. P. Madhava Rao; there have been military strategists of the type of Rama Iyen Dalawa; there have been great economic reformers of the type of Raja Kesava Das. But, if we want to find a combination of all these qualities in one, we must look to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar; he is unique in such combination of all the great qualities of our best Dewans. By congratulating a gentlemen of that type, we are indeed congratulating ourselves. It is only in the fitness of things that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer our respectful felicitations to the Dewan-President and wish him God speed.

Mr. P. C. Aditchan (Nominated): സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെംബർ മി.രാമകൃഷ്ണപിള്ള ഇവിടെനാവത്രിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രമേയത്തെന്നാനും ചിലുക്കാണ്ട് തോനും രണ്ടുവാഴ്ച പറയണമെന്നാഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. നാലുജു രഹണമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്പാമിഖ്രാന്തും അവർക്കളുടെ മഹനീയ സാന്നിദ്ധ്യവും സേവനവും ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ നിന്നുടെ ഇന്ത ചെറിയ രാജ്യത്തിലേക്കു വരവാനും തിരുവിതാംകൂറിന്റെ ഭാവിതോഗയേയെങ്ങുംകൂടു നിഭാനങ്ങളായ സംസ്ഥാനവും രാഷ്ട്രീയവുമായ നിരവധി പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളാൽ ലോകത്തെത്തു കൂടാനുപയോഗിച്ചു ജനങ്ങളെ അനുഗ്രഹിക്കുവാനും സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്പാമി അയ്യും അവർക്കുംകൂടു കാരണ്ണമുണ്ടായതു നിന്നുടെ ഒരു ഭാക്തനും സചിവവാത്തമൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്പാമിഖ്രാന്തും അവർക്കളുടെ വ്യക്തിപരമായ മുണ്ണണണങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ധാരാളം സമയം വേണ്ടിവരും. അതുകൊണ്ട് തോനും അതിലേക്കു ഉള്ളമാക്കുന്നില്ല. അവിടെത്തെ ഭാഗാന്തരമുണ്ടെന്നും വിശിഷ്ടാപഭാന്തരമുണ്ടും കീത്തിച്ചു ഒരു സപ്രീയാന്തരം അനുഭവിക്കാം

മെന്ന വച്ചാൽ നിശിതമെക്കിലും കാവുസൗരമായ വാഗ്ദാഹിലാസം, വിസ്തൃതമെക്കിലും അംഗാധമായ ശാസ്രപാണിയിൽപ്പും അപാരമെക്കിലും വ്യക്തമായ ഭാവഗാഥക്കി, നിസ്സിമെക്കിലും അത്ഭുതകരമായ ദേശാശക്കി, ഭർഗ്ഗാഹ്യമെക്കിലും പ്രശാസനീയമായ രാജ്ഞിരണ്ടുതന്ത്രങ്ങൾ, ഗൗരവസന്ധ്യാങ്ങൾമെക്കിലും മോഹനമായ എഴുപ്പയസവ്യത്ര തുടങ്ങി അവിടത്തു അനന്ത്രമായി അനന്തരമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള നിരവധി മാഹാത്മ്യങ്ങളിൽ എത്തിനെയിലോ വാഴ്ത്തേതെന്തും എന്ന അറിയാതെ ക്ഷേപി പ്രൂക്കനും, പുരാതനവും, ആധുനികവും, പാശ്ചാത്യവും പത്രസ്ത്രവും അംഗാനം, വിജയാനം, സംസ്കാരക്കമ്മം, ഇവയെ നേരിച്ചു കോത്തി സന്ദേശം നേരുകളിൽ പുന്നായി ക്രമാനുസരിച്ചു നേരുകളിൽ പുന്നായി സംശയിക്കാനുള്ള ശേഷി, ക്രമാനുസരിച്ചു നേരുകളിൽ അപരമനും ചെയ്യുന്നതുപോലെതന്നെ ലളിതകലകളെപ്പറ്റി മധ്യരക്കൊരുമായ ഭാഷയിൽ പ്രതിപാദിക്കാനുള്ള പ്രാഗത്യും, ഇവയാൽ അദ്ദേഹം ലോകത്തിന്റെ അസൂയയും അത്ഭുതത്തിനും പാതുമായിത്തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. പ്രഖ്യാപനവും കാര്യസ്ഥാനവും വുമായ തുക്കരങ്ങൾ ചൊന്നതനും താൻ തിരുമന്ത്രസ്ത്രീക്കും പാവനമായ വൈദികവസംസ്കാരത്തിന്റെയും ധർമ്മത്തിന്റെയും ദക്ഷനിയമം തിരികെടുക്കുന്ന നീട്ടിയിൽ അവസ്ഥത്തിൽ സചിവോത്തമൻ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യർ അവർക്കും നൽകി ഒരു പ്രഖ്യാപനം സന്നാതനയമും ഉള്ളിടത്തോളം കാലം ലോകത്തിനു വിസ്തരിക്കാൻ കഴിയുന്നതല്ല. ഇന്ന് രാത്രി സകലവിഡേനയും പരിപ്പൂരണലോകത്തിന്റെ മുന്നണിയിൽ എത്തിയിരിക്കുന്ന നഞ്ചുടെ ദിവാൻജി അവർക്കളുടെ എത്ത്. എൽ. ഡി. ബിൽഡലബ്രൂനിയിൽ അനന്തരാലിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ഇന്ന് പ്രമേയത്തെ ഹാർദ്ദരാജി പിന്താണികൊണ്ട് തല്ലാലും വിരമിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. A. K. Kumaran Vydian (Kunnathunad cum Parur): സർ, ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ 'ഹാർദ്ദരാജി അനന്തരാലിക്കുന്നു. സംഭവവും മായ ഒരു ജീവിതമാണ് സർ. സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യരുടുമുണ്ടു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഇതിഹസ്താനത്തിലുള്ള നേട്ടങ്ങളെളുക്കണിച്ചു് സുരിക്കിഡേനാം അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു തന്നെ തന്നെ തന്നെ നീട്ടിനു മരിക്കുന്നതും മരിക്കുവർക്കു തുതജ്ഞതക്കും അവകാശമുണ്ടു്. ഒരു അഭിഭാഷകനെന്നനീലയിൽ ആരംഭിച്ച ജീവിതം അഭ്യർത്ഥി യന്നായ ഒരു രാജുതത്തും അഭിഭാഷക പ്രവീണനാക്കിം ഒരു ജീവിതകാലം

കൊണ്ട് അഭിഭാഷകവുത്തിയിൽ സമാർപ്പിക്കവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതിൽ കുട്ടതൽ പാടവവും പ്രശ്നപ്പിച്ചും സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിാൻഡു ഒരു വ്യാഴവടക്കാലത്തിനുള്ളിൽ സന്ധാരിച്ചു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രാംഗത്തുവും ബുദ്ധിശക്തിയും അഭിഭാഷകവുത്തിയിടെ സീമകൾക്കുള്ളിൽ ഒരുക്കിനിൽക്കുത്തുവിധിയം ഇസ്പമല്ലായിരുന്നു. തന്റെ പ്രവർത്തന അംഗം അഭിഭാഷകവുത്തിയിടെ അതിനുകൂലെ അതിലുംചീം രാജൂതു ഗ്രഹം കാഞ്ചനാംഗുളിൽ പ്രവർത്തിക്കവാൻ തുടങ്ങിയതോടുകൂടിതു നേരം അഭ്രഹം അവിലഭോകപ്രശ്നപ്പിച്ചു സന്ധാരിച്ചുകൂടിത്തു എന്ന പറയാം. ഭാരതത്തിലെ അപ്രിതിയരാജൂതന്റെ അംഗം നിലയിൽ അഭ്രഹം സഹാജിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രശ്നപ്പിച്ചും അഭ്രഹം ഇൻഡ്യക്കവേണ്ടി ചെയ്യിട്ടുള്ള മഹത്തായ ദേശവനങ്ങളും ഭാരതീയക്കു ഒരു കാലത്തും വിസ്തുതിക്കവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. ഈ വസ്തു മഹാത്മഗാന്ധിയും സമാർപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുമാകുന്നു. ഈ പ്രശ്നപ്രാബല്യം ഒരാഴും തിങ്കി താംകുറിക്കുന്നതുവരുത്തിന്റെ സാരമ്പം വഹിക്കുന്നതിനു നമ്മക്കു ലഭിച്ചുതു് തിങ്കിതാംകുർക്കാരുടെ ഷുപ്പസ്റ്റപരിപാകം മുലമാണു നാമാത്മകമേ പറയുവാൻ നിവർത്തിയുള്ളൂ. സർ ടി. മാധവരാമൻ, സർ രാജഗോപാലാചാരി തുടങ്ങിയ പല മഹാനായം തിങ്കിതാംകുറിക്കുന്ന സഹിവപദം അലക്കരിക്കുന്നതിനു ഇടയായിട്ടുണ്ട്. പക്ഷേ അവരായം തന്നെ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിാൻഡു ഈ വണ്ണിരാജൂത്തിനു സന്ധാരിച്ചു തന്നിട്ടുള്ളതിന്റെ ഏറ്റലോരാശം പ്രശ്നപ്പിച്ചു നന്ദയും നമ്മക്കു ചെയ്യിട്ടുള്ളൂ. വിശ്രദിപ്പിച്ചുതമായ കേന്ദ്രപ്രവേശന വിളുമ്പുവാരം തന്നിനു തല്ലുംചാർത്തിയ പൊന്നതിനുമേനിയേയും അതിനു പ്രചോദനം നൽകിയ ആവിട്ടതെത്തു സചിവോത്തമനേയും മാനവനുമായത്തിനു യുഗ യുഗാന്തരങ്ങളിൽപ്പോലും കേന്ദ്രപാരവശ്രദ്ധത്താടല്ലാതെ സുരിക്കവാൻ സാധിക്കുമോ? ഭാവനാസന്ധ്യനെന്നല്ലോ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിാൻഡു നേരും നേരാംതരം കമ്മകൾക്കും കുടിയാണ് പ്രകൃതി നമ്മുടെ ഉള്ള ചിന്തു് അനന്തരാചിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. തിങ്കിതാംകുർ വിഭവസ്ഥലമാണ്. അസംസ്കൃതസാധനങ്ങൾ ധാരാളമായി ലഭിക്കുന്ന വിളുത്രമിയാണ്. ജനങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കിയ ബുദ്ധിശക്തിയിലും വിളുത്രാസത്തിലും മറ്റാരെയും കാരം കരവിലല്ല. ഈ രണ്ടു ശക്തികളേണ്ണും കുട്ടിയിണക്കി തിങ്കിതാംകുറിനെ ഒരു നേരാംതരം വ്യവസായരാജുമാക്കി നഞ്ചുടെ സാമ്പത്തിക സ്ഥിരി സമ്ഭലരിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള മഹാരാജാവു തിങ്കമെനിയേയും ആഗ്രഹത്തിനു ആപം നൽകുന്ന ശില്പവിഭാഗങ്ങായ സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിാൻഡു നമ്മക്കിവിഭ്യുള്ളതു് ഒരു വലിയ അനന്തരാചാരാണ്.

വിചുലമായ നമ്മുടെ സാമ്പത്തികസാഖ്യതകളെ പ്രവർത്തിപ്പാമെ തതിൽ എത്തിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള നാട്ടിയാക്കിട്ടാണ് ഒരു സർവകലാശാല സ്ഥാപിച്ചതു്. പഴീകരിക്കുന്നതു വെള്ളുതപലത്തി, ഭാർസുപോർട്ടു്, കളിമൺറൂവസായഗാല എന്നതുടങ്കാറിയുള്ള നിരവധി വ്യവസായ പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾക്കു തിരവിതാംകൂർക്കാർ സർ രാമസ്വാമിഞ്ചുങ്ങളുടെ കമ്മകൾതയ്ക്കു് എന്നെന്നും കടപ്പെട്ടവരായിരിക്കും. സർവോപരി രാജ്യത്തിലെ സമാധാനത്തിനു ഭംഗം നേരിട്ടിക്കവാനായി എത്തോ മില ഉപവാപക്കുന്നതാണിന്നു പ്രേരണയിൽ രാജ്യമാസകലം ഒരു മഹാമാരിപോലെ പോട്ടിപ്പുറപ്പെട്ട പ്രക്കാശനത്തെ സഡിരും എത്ത് റിട്ടു് അതിനെ അമർത്തി വിണ്ടും സമാധാനവും എത്തുപ്പെട്ടും സ്ഥാപിച്ച സർ, രാമസ്വാമിഞ്ചുങ്ങളുടെ ധീരതയും രാജ്യതന്ത്രപട്ടപരവും അഭിനന്ദനാർഹമാണ് തന്നെ.

സർ രാമസ്വാമിക്കു് എൽ. എൽ. ബിരുദം നംകുയി സർവകലാശാലയുടെ ഒരച്ചിത്രബോധത്തെ അഭിനന്ദിച്ചു കൊള്ളുന്നു. സർ രാമസ്വാമിഞ്ചുങ്ങൾ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു ഷഷ്ഠ്യബൃഥാപതി സംബന്ധിച്ചും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നു ബിരുദലഭ്യി സംബന്ധിച്ചും അന്നമോഡിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

Deputy President: Before I put the motions to the House, let me say that I associate myself entirely with all the sentiments that have been expressed on the floor of this House. I think I am voicing the feelings of all the members of the House when I say that we feel that we are in a very happy position in being able to offer *Sashtiabdapurthi* felicitations to our President; because, it was not given so far to any Council or Assembly constituted under the Legislative Reforms Act of Travancore. This Assembly is singularly fortunate in that respect.

I am sure it is still fresh in our minds that the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of our Dewan-President was celebrated with great enthusiasm through out the length and breadth of this country, by all classes and communities, by all grades of institutions. The enthusiasm with which the event was celebrated will be evident from the number and variety of the memorials that have been erected and

are proposed to be erected in honour of the occasion. Although more than two months have elapsed since those celebrations, I feel that I am right in saying that we, the members of this House, feel as jubilant today over the occasion as every one did during the celebrations which extended over a week.

It is not necessary for me to recount his varied achievements in several fields of activity, as a distinguished lawyer, as a politician, as an administrator, and as a statesman. His achievements in these various fields are of such tremendous magnitude that any citizen of India might look back with pride upon those achievements. I might say that he leaves the impress of his dynamic and powerful personality upon everyone of his great achievements ; he always gives every one of them a touch which is so singular that I might call it 'the C. P. touch' or 'the Sachivottama touch.'

We feel it a special privilege to have this opportunity of offering our felicitations to our President ; and I join with my friend Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai and the other honourable members of this House in wishing him long life, perfect health and prosperity.

As for the second motion under which this Assembly tenders its felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar on the honorary degree of LL. D., conferred upon him by the Travancore University, I do not wish to speak much on that except to say that the Travancore University could not have chosen a better person for the conferment of this high degree. The University—I might say—has honoured itself by honouring such a distinguished person as our President. I think the University has shown very great sense of discrimination in having pitched upon Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for the conferment of this degree.

I shall now put the motions one after another.

The following motion was put to vote and carried unanimously amidst cheers:—

This Assembly respectfully tenders its felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, LL. D., the President of the Assembly, on his *Sashtiabdapurthi* and wishes him long life, happiness and prosperity.

The following motion was then put to vote and carried unanimously amidst cheers:—

This Assembly tenders its hearty and respectful felicitations to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the President of the Assembly on the honorary degree of LL. D., conferred upon him by the Travancore University.

The House adjourned for lunch at 1 P. M. and reassembled at 2 P. M.

CHAPTER VII

Memorials.

Unprecedented in Number and Unmatched in Utility.

This Chapter deals with the memorials started to commemorate the unique event. They are so many in number and so varied in their form, utility, cost and design that they will first produce a feeling of surprise. The spontaneity which has evoked these tokens of grateful regard to a man, even though he is the Dewan of the State, is arresting. I have had experience of the public life of the State and its people for more than forty years and have never seen such an outburst of enthusiasm—loyal and grateful enthusiasm to commemorate the name of a Dewan. It is, no doubt, true that Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is the third Dewan to celebrate his *Sashtiabdpurthi* during the period of his office as the Head of the Administration. The event is, therefore, rare. But this alone cannot enthuse the people of all classes and communities, of all interests and concerns, to the extent it has done in regard to the Sachivothama. Though he has been having the stewardship of the State directly only for a short period of three years, the man in the street has known the silent and unostentatious work he has been doing behind the scene in a spirit of pure disinterestedness out of his high and burning sense of nationalism. Few people of established reputation and eminence in India have had occasion to come in close contact with the Travancore Ruling House and its Rulers as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has. The valuable services rendered for a series of years culminated partially when His

Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal Maharaja made him his Legal and Constitutional Adviser on the memorable occasion of His Highness' Investiture and received full recognition five years later on when he was entrusted with the Administration of the State. The cordial demonstrations of rejoicings and joy with which the subjects of His Gracious Highness welcomed the news in 1931 and 1936 were the high watermark of a people's united approval. This unshakable sense of confidence in his wisdom and statesmanship, in his insatiable desire to serve Travancore and secure for it its rightful place in the political map of India, in his vision of a greater Travancore was a precursor to the wave of jubilation which burst forth on the most suitable and right occasion. The spontaneousness of the move to do him honour was so steady, so overwhelming, so contagious and so genuine that all forms of munificence, all types of public charity and all shapes of public utility suggested themselves to the public mind which had worked itself, as it were, to the white heat of convulsive action. When the spasm thus produced ceased, the movement of the muscles became normal, having been seized with the same inordinate desire to carry out the proposals on which they had launched. Hospitals, Schools, Parks, Playgrounds, Town Halls, Oil Paintings, Poor Homes—these dangled before people's eyes, only to become realities in the hard economy of the workaday world. Money poured like gentle rain. In this move there may be after all be some tinge of selfishness, some touch of a sinister type, some desire to make capital out of and some base motive, even just as life itself is a complex mixture of good and evil. But it is certain that no move can come to full fruition unless there is in it the test of permanent success which has followed in as many as 40 cases of these memorials distributed over as many as 28 stations where the name of the Sachivothama will be immortalised in some permanent form or other.

One great result that has followed in the wake of this enthusiastic move to commemorate this auspicious event is that it has aroused in the mass mind a new outlook in life, a new desire to co-operate and initiate schemes of public charity, philanthropy, and munificence and unite in a spirit of helpfulness in a public cause. That the people of all castes, classes, and communities, whether they are Hindus, Muslims or Christians, whether they are merchants, traders, bankers, vakils or other businessmen, have participated in this movement and have freely and ungrudgingly given of their earnings is by itself an achievement of considerable significance for the future of the country. This is an unforgettable lesson, an ineffaceable idea which owes its creation and practical application to the inspiration of a great name, a name that will live in the history of Travancore by whomsoever it may be written.

A full account of every one of these memorials will, no doubt, be instructive in so many ways. But it has not been possible to obtain details of required information about all these, as most of these have been started in small villages as well as other rural areas of local importance where their utility has been felt. It has been possible, therefore, to get particulars of some of those functions only which were carried out in some towns.

**“The Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar
Sashtiabdaipurthi Memorial Satrom”**

Among the various commemorative structures or institutions started and brought into execution is this *Satrom* or Rest House. Travancore has, for the past ten years or so, risen like a balloon among the Tourist World and it is a pity that no record has been kept showing the number of Tourists who have visited the State. These would have been useful in a variety of ways. It is hoped that this information would be available at least in future. Though the European visitors find sufficient and comfortable

accommodation in the Moscot Hotel, or the Travellers' Bungalow, or the Railway Waiting Rooms, each according to his or her resources, there is a large number of middle class people from the Hindu community who come here as pilgrims or for other purposes, business or pleasure. These people find it difficult to get convenient accomimodation. They resort to what these strangers describe as "Raja's" *Satrom*. Or they have to indent on the hospitality of their friends or acquaintances for more comfortable accommodation. This need was forestalled by his Highness the late Sri Mulam Thirunal Maharaja who, out of his private munificence, built a *Satrom* near the old Chakai Railway Station. This building met the needs for which it was intended. But, with the extension of the Railway line to the Trivandrum Central, the terminus, and the abolition of the Chackay Station owing to diversion of the line the old *Satrom* ceased to serve the purpose. It is a matter of great satisfaction that at least now, after so many years' waiting, the public came forward and connected the *Satrom* with the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of one of the most eminent Indians whom it has been given to Travancore to possess at least for a few years. It is equally praiseworthy that the Sachivothama who, at every turn, was opposing costly memorials, agreed to this proposal. It is also a great compliment to the poeple of Travancore, their liberality, sense of public spirit and patriotism that, immediately the idea was announced, encouraging sums came from the public of all castes and creeds. Those who had bitter experience of collecting money for public purposes were naturally surprised to be told that out of a sum of Rs. 30,000 required for the building, as much as Rs. 20,000 or two-thirds had been collected. As public collection was so prompt, it was resolved to effectuate the well conceived project as early possible.

The Foundation Laying Ceremony of the Satrom



The Laying of the Foundation Stone.

Saturday, 8-30 A. M. (11th November) was the time fixed. A large *shamiana* was erected near the site of the *Satrom* close to the Trivandrum Central Station and beautifully decorated. A large number of people gathered in the *Shamiana* at the eastern end where was erected a Dais for the master of the ceremony. Punctual to the minute Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., the retired Advocate General, Madras Government, and a leading member of the Madras Bar, arrived and was given a cordial and enthusiastic reception and led to the Dais. By this time the Dais was full of the distinguished visitors who had come here in response to the invitation of Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for his *Sashtiabdapurthi*, among whom were Messrs. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Editor, *The Indian Review*, Rao Bahadur Captain P. Krishnaswami, Rao Bahadur Dr. Ramamurthi, Rao Bahadur Dr. T. S. Thirumurthi, J. H. Tarapore, N. Kuppuswami Aiyah, N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, B. A. B. L., District and Sessions Judge, Salem, M. Subbaraya Aiyar, Advocate, Madras, K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar, Advocate, Madras, Rao Bahadur C. Ramanujachariar, Secretary, Madras Student's Home, Ramakrishna Home, etc.

Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai's Speech.

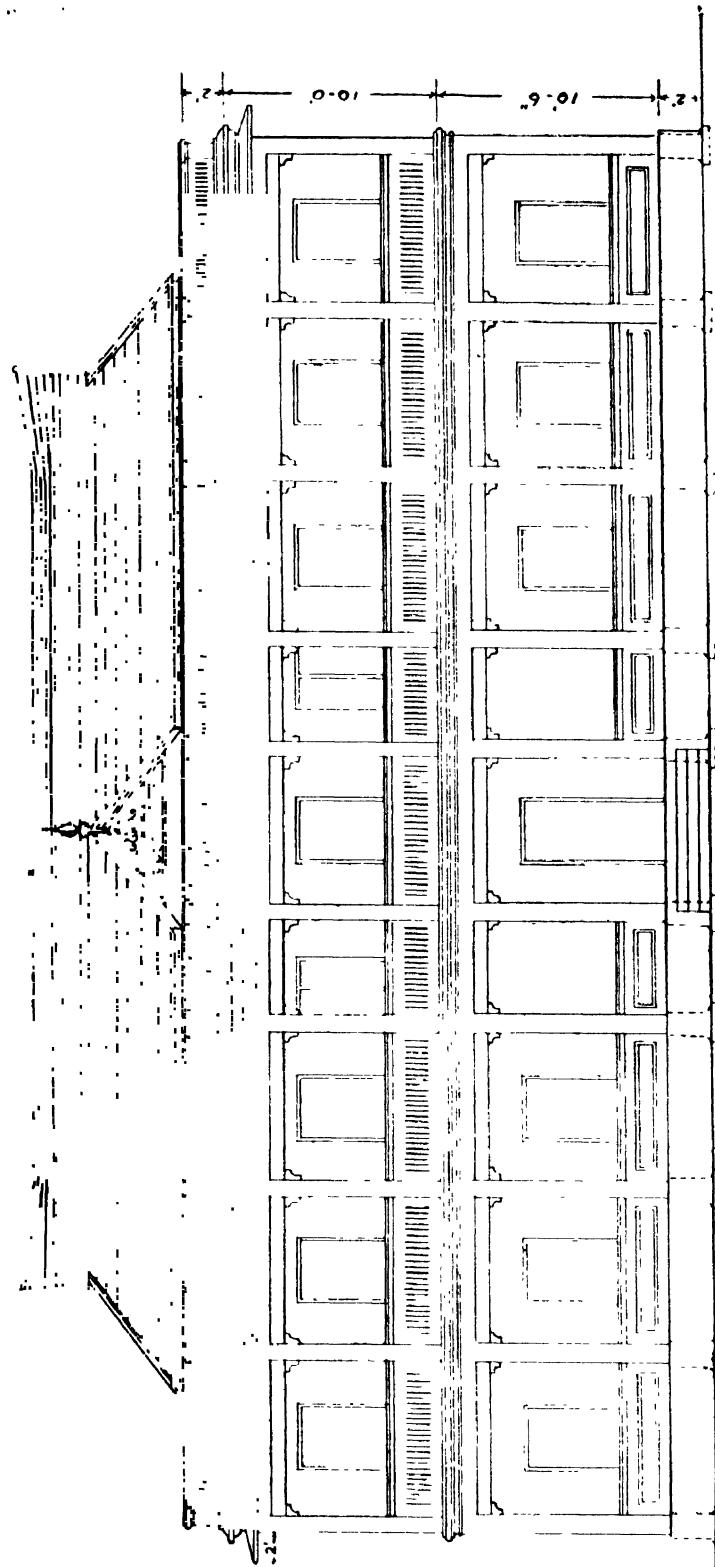
In requesting Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., to lay the foundation stone of the *Satrom*, Rao Bahadur Rajasevanirata Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, M. A., B. Sc., retired Chief Secretary to Travancore Government, said :—

On behalf of "Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial Committee" I have great pleasure in offering you a hearty welcome and in expressing our sincere thanks to you for agreeing to preside over this function and lay

the foundation stone of the memorial we propose to erect. This memorial is intended to commemorate the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of an eminent son of India. The Committee feel honoured that they have been able to secure the services of another Indian to perform this initial ceremony.

To us, Travancoreans, the *Sashtiabdapurthi* that is being celebrated is not only of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar but of a Dewan of the State who, though not a born Travancorean, has identified himself completely with this country and its people. In the memory of living men there was only one other occasion of a similar nature and that was the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Mr. S. Sankarasubbier C. I. E. who was Dewan of Travancore from 1892 to 1898. The enthusiasm with which the present *Sashtiabdapurthi* is being celebrated throughout the State is a clear indication of the high esteem in which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is held by the people. Towns and villages, communities and their organisations, public associations and local bodies are vying with one another in the celebration of this auspicious occasion. Steps are being taken to erect permanent memorials in various parts of the country. Numerous Addresses of felicitations were presented to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar last evening at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall. These are but the outward expressions of the inner feelings of the people who are conscious of the benefits they enjoy under the several reforms effected by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in the diverse fields of administration during the three years of his Dewanship. They have availed themselves of the occasion of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* to express their gratitude to him.

The question of erecting a suitable memorial at the capital city was considered at a meeting of the friends and well-wishers of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar held about a month ago and it



The Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Sashthiabda purthi Memorial Satram Front Elevation

was resolved that a *Satrom* would be the most appropriate form of memorial to perpetuate the name of one who is well known for his sympathy and generosity towards the poor and the needy. A *Satrom* providing accommodation for temporary stay to ordinary travellers who cannot afford to resort to the Railway Retiring Rooms, or the Mascot Hotel or even the local Travellers' Bungalow is a great desideratum in this city. The only existing *Satrom* is situated away from the Railway Station within the precincts of the Fort, not by any means in healthy surroundings and the large majority of travellers are put to much difficulty and inconvenience owing to the absence of suitable accommodation close to the Railway Station. The idea of constructing a *Satrom* to meet this pressing need has, therefore, been conceived as the best form of memorial that could be erected in honour of the *Sashtiabdapurthi* at the capital. The Government have been pleased to place at the disposal of the Committee the site covering an area of over one acre for the construction of the *Satrom* and we are deeply grateful to them for this act of kindness. A plan of the building proposed to be constructed has been prepared and it is estimated that the building would cost about thirty to thirty-five thousand rupees. Already in the course of about four weeks promises of subscriptions have been received and the Committee feel no doubt that sufficient funds would come in promptly to have the building completed with the least possible delay. I am emboldened to make this statement by the liberal response and willing co-operation so far received from the public. By the grace of God the Committee hope to have the *Satrom* ready for occupation in the course of about six months. The building, when completed, will add to the beauty of this locality besides providing amenities to the travelling public. In the name of the Committee I would now request you, Sir, to give your blessings to our venture and lay the foundation stone

of "Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial Satrom", which will stand as a permanent monument erected by the friends and well-wishers of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in commemoration of his *Sashtiabdapurthi* and in grateful appreciation of his services to the country.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri then walked to the spot and declared the stone well and truly laid amidst tremendous cheering. He then addressed the assembly thus :—

It was a pleasure to me to be invited to lay the foundation stone of "Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial Satrom". I give sincere thanks to the Memorial Committee for their invitation.

The name of your memorial draws attention to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar completing 60 years of life. He is so old only in years. He remains strong and alert and still in the prime of life. He has now been with you first as a Legal and Constitutional Adviser for five years and now as Dewan for three years. He is giving of his best to you. When he came here he had behind him a long record of public work already done and the knowledge and the wisdom and the experience gathered in the best part of a lifetime.

His grand-father was in Government Service in the Tanjore District, a Tahsildar in a Taluk centre within three miles of my village. His father was educated in Kumbhakonam and started practice as a lawyer in Tanjore and transferred himself to Madras after ten years. I knew his father at the bar and afterwards as a Judge of the City Civil Court. In my own fireside I have heard many tales of his grandfather's exploits in those troublous days. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar inherits intrepidity and resourcefulness from his grandfather whose name he bears, and

tact, genial manners and personal presence from his father. They could not have had the opportunities of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. These more spacious days, which have brought great opportunities, found Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar equal to their demands and capable of using them to high purpose.

There are among those present here more than one who know more of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar than I do, with that more intimate intimacy of the friendship of boyhood days. I do not recall when I first met him but that must be, I think, in the period of his apprenticeship in the office of the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. He was enrolled in 1903. I had been at the bar four years by that time. Our friendship was a slow growth of years, starting from unremembered beginnings. It may not interest any but a lawyer to hear of his professional career or of his early successes or of the tact and ability which characterised his advocacy on the original side of the High Court to which he largely confined himself in the early years of his professional life. It may not be improper, however, to refer to the fact that he often passed on his cases to me for argument when they reached the court of appeal.

He became Advocate General in 17 years, and a Member of Council soon after. He was, I think, the youngest Advocate General and the youngest Member of Council of our time.

With the membership of the Executive Council Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar passed on to a life after his taste and temperament. He could never have been content with a life exclusively devoted to the intensive practice of the law. He could not have been happy with the quiet and dignified life of a judge of the High Court. His active temperament and restless energy hankered after politics and the wider and more stirring and adventurous

public life outside. These qualities had, in the meanwhile, carried him into the Corporation, the University Senate and Syndicate, the Legislative Council and the Congress, to the Home Rule League.

Of his work as a Member of Council, during part of which I was Advocate General of his Government, I wish to speak only of two items of conspicuous and outstanding successes as illustrating his qualities and capacity. I well remember the days when his friends were worried over the two projects which he had taken up with his characteristic courage and determination. Sir M. Cutts Trotter, who was deeply attached to his friends and to Sir C. P. in particular, told me that he was risking his reputation and his career on the projects which many opposed and in which few had any faith. Undaunted by the opposition of foes and the doubts of friends he pushed on with undiminished faith. Both projects were completed after he laid down his office.

Pykara is today an unquestionable success. So is Mettur. It may not have fulfilled the extravagant estimates of revenue derivable and may not fulfil them in these days of clamour for reduction of revenue as an encouragement to agriculture. No one now desires to be remembered as having been among the opponents of these projects. Many soon wished to be remembered as having been always favourable and some had the good fortune of reaping the success and the glory. Electric pylons carrying light and power everywhere and new channels carrying abundant water to arid tracts which had not seen water for centuries are a perpetual reminder of the benefits which the country owes to his vision and to his faith and tenacity of purpose in the face of opposition which would have daunted and deterred one of lesser spirit.

He laid down the reins of office in 1928, and took up work in Travancore in 1931. The intervening three years were crowded with legal and political activities, work in Committees and Conferences, work in and for Indian States and a brief spell of office in the Government of India.

His services are now at the disposal of the State. One sees evidence of awakening and activity on every side. Much has been done and much is in the process of being done.

Yesterday Mr. Malloor Govinda Pillai, in the public address to the Dewan, referred to a few among other notable items of work done, the Pallivasal Scheme, the Road Transport, the bicameral legislature, the University and the Temple Entry Proclamation. The Director of Industries has issued a note on the Industrial Development of Travancore and your Pro-Vice-Chancellor has written on the experiments you are making in education on which, by the way, I may note that you are spending 20 percent of the revenue.

His characteristic qualities of intrepidity and resourcefulness, his courageous programmes for the improvement of the State and the development of its resources are in evidence. A more peaceful atmosphere, making undivided attention possible, might have quickened the pace of progress.

I wish to add a word on a delicate topic. It is connected with State politics with which I have no direct concern. Holding as I do very strongly that an outsider should not interfere in the internal affairs of a State, of which he can never have accurate, impartial and reliable information, I should offer no comment on what is a domestic affair. I hope, however, it is not improper for me to say this.

Where there is no alien rule or domination or exploitation, where the ruler and the subjects have only one interest to serve, that of the State, and no outside interest, where as in these South Indian States, it is on all hands admitted that there is good Government though not as the result of Self-Government, cannot the agitation for a change in the form of Government be carried on, I will not say, in peace and amity, but with a little more patience, with a little more goodwill and less acerbity than is discernible today? I hope I have not said more than is permissible for a visitor of Travancore and a guest of the State to say.

And now before I formally lay the foundation stone, I shall only add that we all wish Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the full Vedic length of days, a hundred autumns, many more years of active public service and a period of rest from which he can look back with satisfaction on a long life of labour well done.

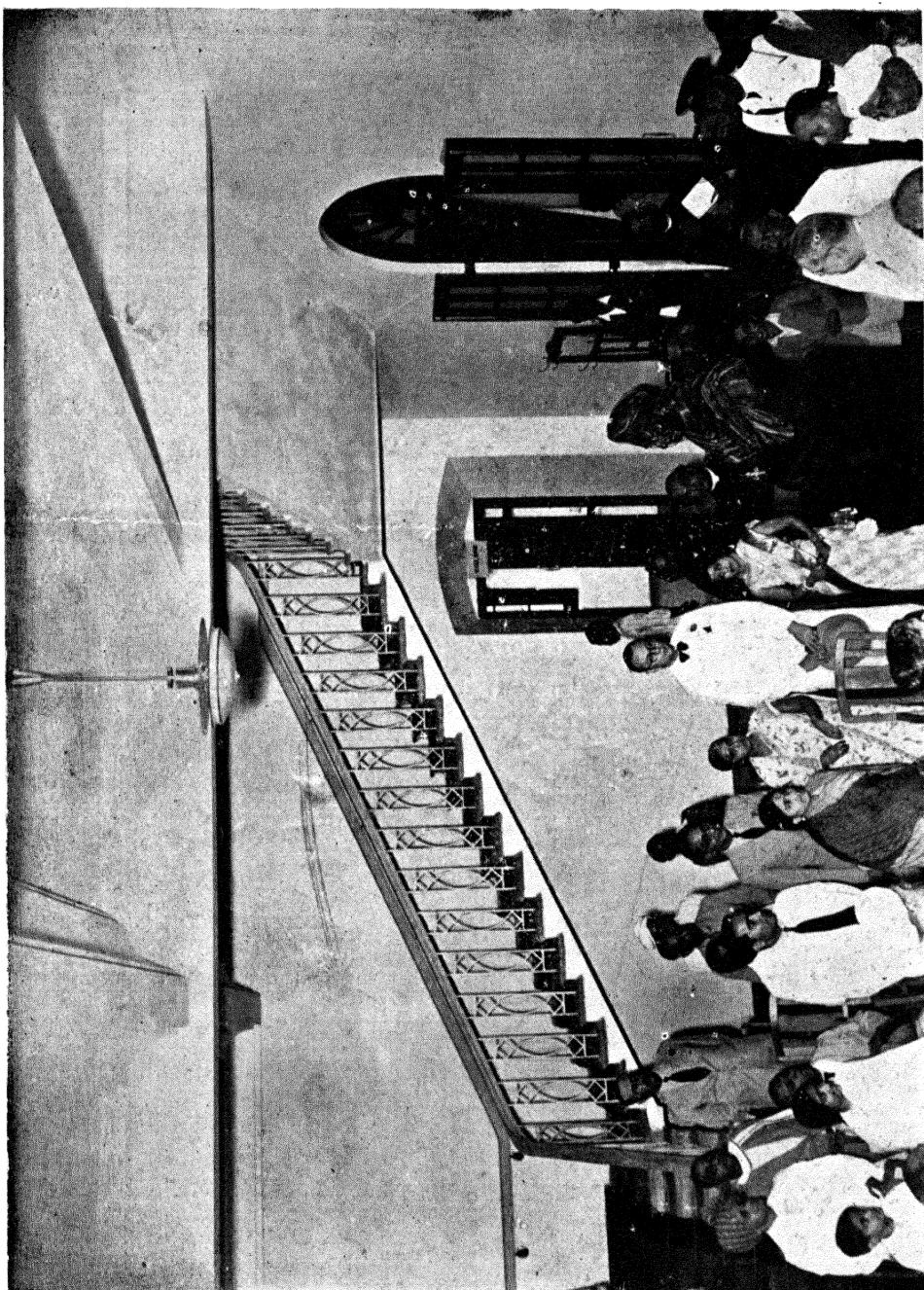
As the President of the Committee stated, the *Satrom* is the fittest institution for the purpose it is intended. A rest house near the Railway Station is more useful to the travellers and more conducive to commemorate the *Sashtiabdpurthi* of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, who had given of his best to you, than anything else.

Unveiling the Bust.

On the same day at 10-30 A. M. the bust of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who had a great part in the making of the present constitution of Travancore, was unveiled at the Legislative Chamber. A large and distinguished Assembly of ladies and gentlemen had gathered in the verandah as well as the special Pandal erected for the purpose.

Dr. Kunjan Pillai's Speech.

In requesting Sir Abdur Rahman, High Court Judge, Madras, to perform the unveiling ceremony, Rao Bahadur



Bust of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Unveiled

Rajyasevanirata Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, President of the Nair Service Society, spoke as follows :—

I consider it a great honour that I have been privileged on behalf of the Nair Service Society to present to the Legislature of Travancore the bust in bronze of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar which will presently be unveiled by the distinguished Chairman. Yesterday was the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and the occasion was celebrated with great enthusiasm and rejoicings throughout Travancore. The Nair Service Society, while contributing its quota to the general celebrations, also resolved upon commemorating the occasion by the presentation of this bust to be installed in the new Legislative Chamber, in appreciation of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's valuable services to the country and in particular the far-reaching reforms which he has been instrumental in introducing in our Legislature.

The Nairs, I may be permitted to say in this connection, form an important major community in the State, a community which has had a glorious past politically, socially and economically. In recent years there has been some deterioration in its economic conditions, but in other respects it continues to maintain its standard true to its long traditions. The community has taken a prominent part in all progressive movements calculated to further the interests of the country, but its methods have invariably been constitutional and not subversive, peaceful and not violent. No doubt, there are individual exceptions, such exceptions exist in all communities but they form only a small minority. The Nair Service Society is the only organisation which can be said to represent the Nair community. Started exactly 25 years ago by a few enthusiastic young men, the Society has now grown into a powerful body with ramifications spread

over most parts of the country. It possesses assets to the value of more than 5 lakhs of rupees and its annual budget of receipts expenditure stands at about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. Its chief activities are educational, economic and social. It has under its management 7 English High Schools, 3 Vernacular High Schools, one Sanskrit Higher Grade School, 7 English Middle Schools, 3 Training Schools and a number of Vernacular Primary and Middle Schools. The Society has organised nearly 1,200 branch associations called Karayogams with a membership of over 1,20,000. These one hundred and twenty thousand members who are generally the heads of families, together with their dependents whom they represent on the Karayogams, will aggregate to not less than 6,00,000 out of the total population of the community which, according to the last Census, was about 9,00,000. The Nairs have no other organisation of such a magnitude and hence the Society can legitimately claim to be a body representing the Nair community. Though the Society is a communal organisation, its activities are not confined to the narrow sphere of communalism. It has, as one of its objectives, the consolidation of the Hindus and the removal of their social and economic disabilities. It has always taken an active part in all movements for the up-lift of the Harijans. Some of its leaders and members participated in the famous Vaikom and Guruvayur Satyagrahas and in the Savarna Jatha which came on foot from Vaikom to Trivandrum to represent the grievances of the Harijans to Her Highness the Maharani Regent. It played a prominent part in the movement for the admission of Harijans into temples which, through the broad vision and the great human sympathy of His Highness Sri Chitra Tirunal, has now become an accomplished fact. Such in brief is the history of the growth and work of the Nair Service Society whose proud privilege it

is today to present the bust of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to the Legislature of Travancore.

It is hardly necessary for me to dilate upon the grounds which prompted the Nair Service Society to take this step. Suffice it to say that the Legislature, as it exists to-day, in Travancore is the handiwork of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. The propriety of installing the bust at the Legislative Chamber will be evident from the fact that he is the first President of the Houses of Legislature who has had the privilege of presiding over their deliberations in the new Chamber which was completed only a few months ago. In the matter of Legislative reforms Travancore occupies a unique position. Among the Indian States she was the very first to create a Legislative Council and that was as early as in 1888. Since then the Council has undergone several progressive changes in successive stages and assumed the shape it has at present. At first it was only a deliberative body for purposes of legislation and consisted of a few nominated officials and non-officials with an official majority. Later on the Council was reformed on three occasions, adding to its strength, giving it a non-official majority and conferring on it wide powers and the right of voting on the budget. Such was the Council that was in existence when His Highness the present Maha Raja assumed ruling powers in 1931. In that year His Highness issued a Proclamation instituting a bi-cameral legislature, widening the franchise liberally, and investing the legislature with still greater powers and larger responsibilities. Even today there is no other Indian State of any importance possessing a more advanced legislative body than Travancore. The reforms introduced in 1932 were a free gift to the people by His Highness the Maharaja who is always solicitous of the welfare of his subjects and who is ever ready to make such alterations in the constitutional machinery as

are suited to the changing times and the growing needs of the people. His Highness who had just then entered on the threshold of his reign had utilised the services of his Legal and Constitutional Adviser Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, to give a concrete shape to the proposed legislative reforms; and the part he played in that connection will ever be remembered by the people of this country. His profound knowledge of constitutional law and his wide experience as a practical administrator enabled him to frame for Travancore a legislative system satisfying the needs of a progressive administration and the legitimate aspirations of the people. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is a statesman of liberal views and the Nair Service Society feels no doubt that he will not hesitate to advise His Highness to make further changes in the constitutional and legislative machinery if and when the paramount interests of the country deemed them. As a token of tribute for what he has already done towards the democratisation of the Legislature the Nair Service Society decided to present his bust to the Legislature and to request Government to accept it on its behalf. As President of the Society I have great pleasure in conveying this request to Government.

The Society feels honoured that it has been able to secure a distinguished gentleman of your position and standing to perform the ceremony of unveiling the bust, and on behalf of the Society it is my pleasing duty to request you, Sir, to remove the veil from the bust, so that it may adorn the Legislative Chamber as a permanent memorial to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar reminding the present and future generations of legislators of the services of an eminent constitutional lawyer, great statesman and a talented administrator.

In unveiling the bust of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Hon'ble Justice Abdur Rahman, Judge, High Court, Madras, said :--

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a source of genuine pleasure to me to be present on this occasion and I am thankful to the Nair Service Society for the honour they have done me by asking me to take part in this function. It is a very pleasant duty and my only regret is that I cannot do the subject better justice. As one who has not only had the privilege of knowing Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer for over two decades, but also of devilling for him on more than one occasion, I may be permitted to say a few words concerning him and to express the gratification that association has given me and all with whom he came into contact.

I shall not attempt to give a biography of the remarkable person whose bust I am about to unveil. This would need a great deal of time and even then, I would fail to be exhaustive. I shall, therefore, content myself with a mention of some of the facts and features of his life and personality which have struck me.

Even a sceptic, who has watched Sir C. P.'s. amazing career must, I think, begin to believe in fairies who shower choicest gifts on some fortunate persons at their births. Success has been the keynote of his whole life and this in every sphere where his inclinations or opportunities carried him. As a student, his brilliant industry won him a large number of academic distinctions. You are well aware that he chose law for his profession and distinguished himself so quickly that he reached the front rank within a few years. He was appointed Advocate General of Madras when he was 42. Two years later he became the Law Member of the Provincial Executive Council. After the expiry

of his term in the Provincial Council, he served as a Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council. He then became a legal adviser to several important Indian States and finally—so far—the Dewan to His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore.

But personal success alone does not mean much to the world without solid work and real achievement. And it is here that Sir C. P. scores over many other prize-boys of Fortune. It is not merely a dazzling 'name that he has earned for himself, but something more tangible and permanent.

I shall mention to-day only three of his great achievements. First, the Mettur Project which means not only the construction of one of the longest dams in the world, but means the providing of irrigation for about 2,00,000 acres of arid land. The importance and abiding benefit of such a project in an agricultural country like India are easily recognisable.

Next the Pykara Hydro-Electric Scheme. If the Mettur Project was a great enterprise in Agriculture, this was an equally great industrial enterprise. There is a vastness in the nature of these two undertakings that strikes one's imagination profoundly; and they reflect and reveal the greatness of the man behind them.

But I would consider that greater than these two, is the part he played in the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation. If the Mettur and Pykara Schemes relate to the material needs, this great reform relates to the spiritual needs of a large section of the people. To a Muslim coming from the north of India, as I am, the problem of Harijans in the south does not at first become apparent in all its acuteness and magnitude. It is only after an acquaintance with the conditions prevailing here that I realised the immensity of this reform.

Taking the social side of the question alone into consideration and without in any way attempting to enter into its political aspect, I must say that, if Sir C. P. sought to make the people more opulent and advanced by his other schemes, by this reform he has transformed those beings, who were treated as less than men, into men—as God made them. And here again it was his good fortune coming to the aid of his vision and talent that he has such an enlightened and generous Ruler as His Highness the Maharajah. No successful administrator can afford to ignore the development of industries of a State, if he is desirous of seeing his people happy and prosperous. From this point of view it was impossible for Sir C. P. to miss the opportunity which was afforded to him of developing the various industries in this State. On my arrival in Trivandrum I saw for myself tangible results of the effort he has been making in that direction. However great a calamity war may be, in its other aspects, it helps people, both who are actually fighting in the field and those who are helping it in various other ways from a distance, to put in their best and try to bring it to a successful termination. Thus the time for the development of home industries is quite opportune; and if the effort is sustained in that direction, of which I have no doubt, it will be of great help not only to the State, and its people but to the country at large and even to the Empire of which we form an integral part.

The development of these things and of men represents only one side of Sir C. P. There are many more. For, one of his greatest qualities is his many-sidedness, his versatility. He is a remarkable combination of a brilliant lawyer, an astute politician, an able administrator, and ardent lover of literature and fine arts and an artist to his finger tips. There is a fulness and variety in his life which is absent in many other great men of

India. As someone wrote of him "C. P. never suffers for want of a second interest." Versatility is a rock on which lesser men are shattered and founder. But not so Sir C. P.

He has a remarkable personality, arresting as well as captivating. He has that grace of manner and exquisite polish that belong to the real aristocrat. Wherever he is, he spreads his charm around. Culture to him is the breath of life and living a fine art.

Sir C. P. was sixty yesterday. But his spirit is young. He is still as intellectually alive and alert as any young man and his zest and capacity for work one would wish young men to imitate and possess.

May God bless him with long life.

I have great pleasure in unveiling his bust.

The Chief Secretary's Speech.

In accepting the bust on behalf of Government Mr. M. K. Nilakanta Aiyar B. A. B. L., Chief Secretary to Government, spoke as follows :—

The privilege of formally accepting this elegantly executed bust of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, presented by the Nair Service Society to the Council Chamber, devolves on me, as Leader of the two Houses. I do so with cordial enthusiasm, all the more so because the appropriateness of the presentation appeals to me in more ways than one.

Now, the people of Travancore are celebrating the *Sashti-abdapurthi* of the Head of the Administration. Some of us find it difficult to believe that Sir C. P. is sixty years old. I myself should have said that he is sixty years young. The propriety of the Nair Service Society commemorating the



Bust of the Dewan-Another view

Sashtiabdaipurthi of Sir C. P. by presenting this impressive bust to the Council Chamber is worthy of note. I am inclined to interpret this gift as a tribute to the greatest Parliamentarian that Travancore has seen. Sir C. P.'s record as Parliamentarian in British India is familiar to us. He has left behind in British India, a reputation for unparalleled Parliamentary ability; and, when the history of British Indian legislatures comes to be chronicled, his name will stand second to none as one of the foremost protagonists of the Indian Parliamentary system, in its infancy. It would be no extravagant flight of fancy to imagine that, had Sir C. P. been an Englishman, his name would have ranked with any of the greatest names in Parliamentary annals, with Peel, Gladstone or Disraeli.

In the annals of the Travancore legislature, too, Sir C. P. has left the indelible impress of his personality. He is the chief architect of our present bicameral system of legislature over which he now presides with unsurpassed distinction. This noble edifice, too, which today houses our legislature is his creation. It is but fit and proper that a name to which the Travancore legislature owes its constitutional shape as well as its dignified abode, should be commemorated in this manner. It is my fervent hope that henceforth this noble work of art would be an unceasing source of inspiration to the House which it now adorns, and that, as a result, the spirit of lofty ideals and high endeavour would inform the deliberations of present and future legislators of Travancore.

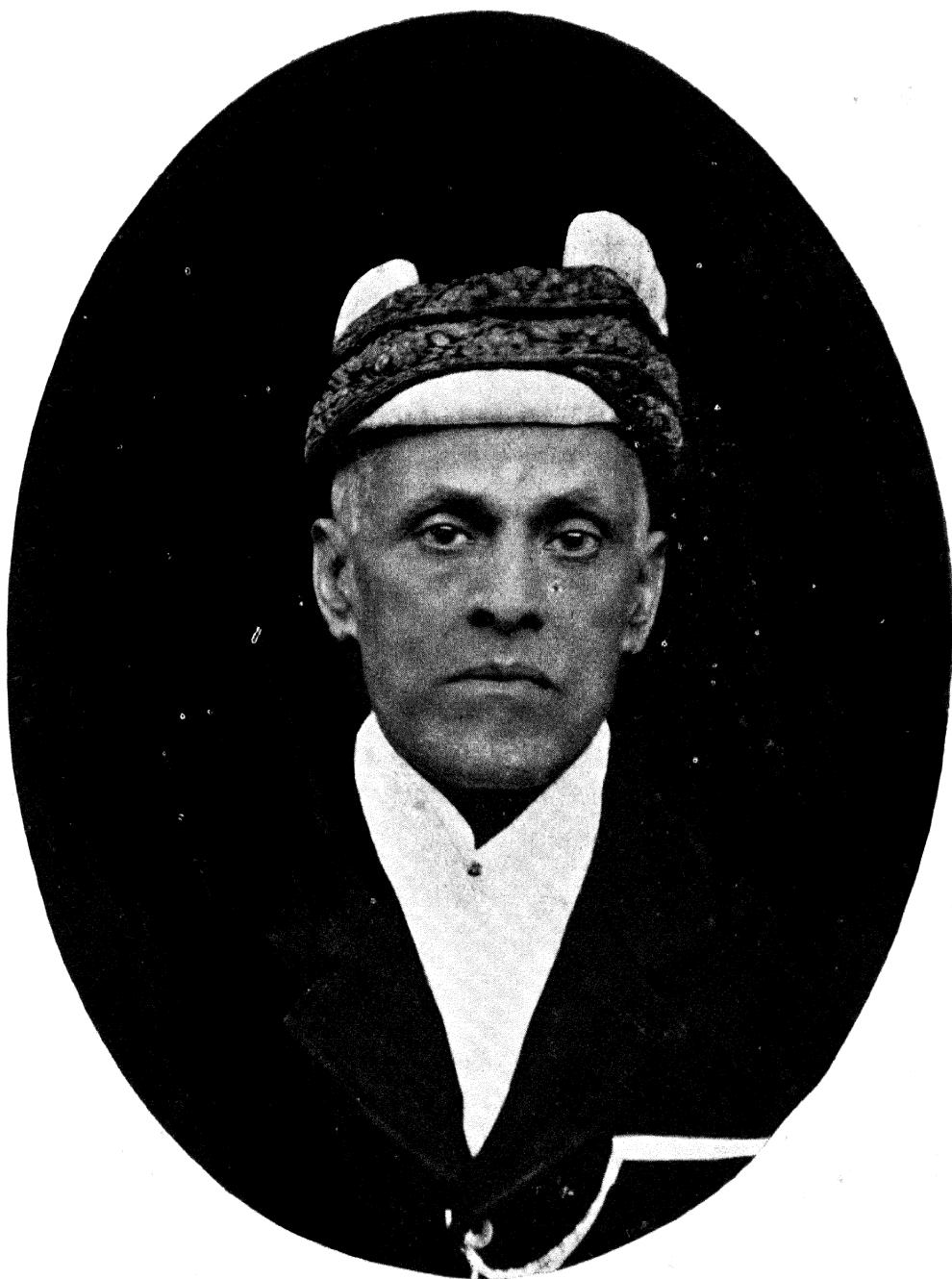
Though I have no pretensions to be an art critic, I may state, *en passant* that this bust appears to me to be an admirable work of art, in likeness convincing, in artistry pleasing. Genius is ever elusive for the artist to capture. I am glad to note that the artist has not failed to do justice to the radiantly dynamic personality of his illustrious subject. The Nair Service

Society are to be congratulated on the excellent execution of a very happy idea.

For this most appropriate gift, which does credit to their discernment, I thank the Nair Service Society on behalf of the Sri Mulam Assembly and the Sri Chitra State Council.

**“Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar
Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial English High School”.**

Travancore is admittedly the most literate in the whole of India excepting the Cochin State. This predominant position in literacy has been attained through the commendable pioneering work done by the European Christian Missionaries. Since then other private agencies have entered the field with very good results. The Syrian Christian Missionaries of different denominations have also been doing their bit in the spread of education and general enlightenment. Though the Roman Catholics have been rather slow as a community to come up to the level of other Christian denominations, the Syrian Catholics deserve credit for the educational progress made in male as well as female education. Consistently with the spirit of advancement noticeable among this class of Christians, His Grace the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios, O. I. C., D. D., M. A., Archbishop of Trivandrum, has been doing his level best towards this end and thus raising the level of literacy among his flock. He, therefore, availed himself of the opportunity of the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, to establish an English High School at Pattom for the benefit of all classes of pupils, without reference to caste or creed. The Town of Trivandrum has been extending on all sides during the past few years and the number of educational institutions does not seem to rise proportionately to this expansion of the population. When the system of English education in the State was



M. R. Ry. T. Kerala Varma, who laid the foundation of the School building

being examined with a view to better consolidate the various schools arising spasdomically in different localities, Dr. A. C. Mitchell, the author of the present system, who had just then been made Director of Public Institution, told the writer who was then conducting a small Primary English School in the Karamanai Brahmin Agraaharam that it was the policy of Government to have a few Middle or High Schools spread over the important suburbs of the town so as to afford all possible conveniences to the student population of the city. It is this policy of Educational dispersion, so to call it, that is being attempted with this advantage that private effort is taking the place of Government. The Department, therefore, naturally was glad at the offer. Pattom is an important suburb of Trivandrum and has a large number of pupils who crowd into the High School at Vanchiyur, or the St. Joseph's High School or other institutions whether for boys or girls. They must be suffering from all kinds of hardship and privation inherent in the distance involved. The inhabitants of this locality cannot be too grateful to His Grace the Archbishop for this venture. The site is just outside the skirts of the capital city and commands a magnificent and enchanting view of the natural scenery around.

Laying the Foundation Ceremony.

On Thursday the 16th November when His Grace the Archbishop gave an "At Home" to Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan, the auspicious occasion was utilised to have the Foundation laid for the "Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Sashtiabdadapurthi Memorial English High School".

His Grace the Archbishop in requesting M. R. Ry. T. Kerala Varma, the father of Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvathi Bai, Dr. Litt (Andhra University) and Dr. Litt (Benares University),

to lay the Foundation stone, explained the aims and objects of the proposed High School.

In proceeding to comply with the request, Mr. Kerala Varma said:—

Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Your Grace Most Rev. Archbishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I very sincerely thank your Grace Most Rev. Archbishop for inviting me to lay the foundation of the school which is proposed to be started in memory of the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, our Dewan. It is not necessary on my part to dwell on the merits of the Dewan and I do not intend to do so. Since we have in him now one who is well known not only in India, but also in Western countries, it is a great joy and pleasure to me to do this service to commemorate his name.

A school, the would-be *alma mater* of many of the future citizens, is a sacred institution. It is there that the conduct and character of many in future life are shaped. Today sees the coming up of such an institution. If the coming students of this rising school are to aspire to have the heart and head of our Dewan and if they take him as their ideals, as they are bound to be, being students of this institution, I can predict with certainty their future as very bright and brilliant.

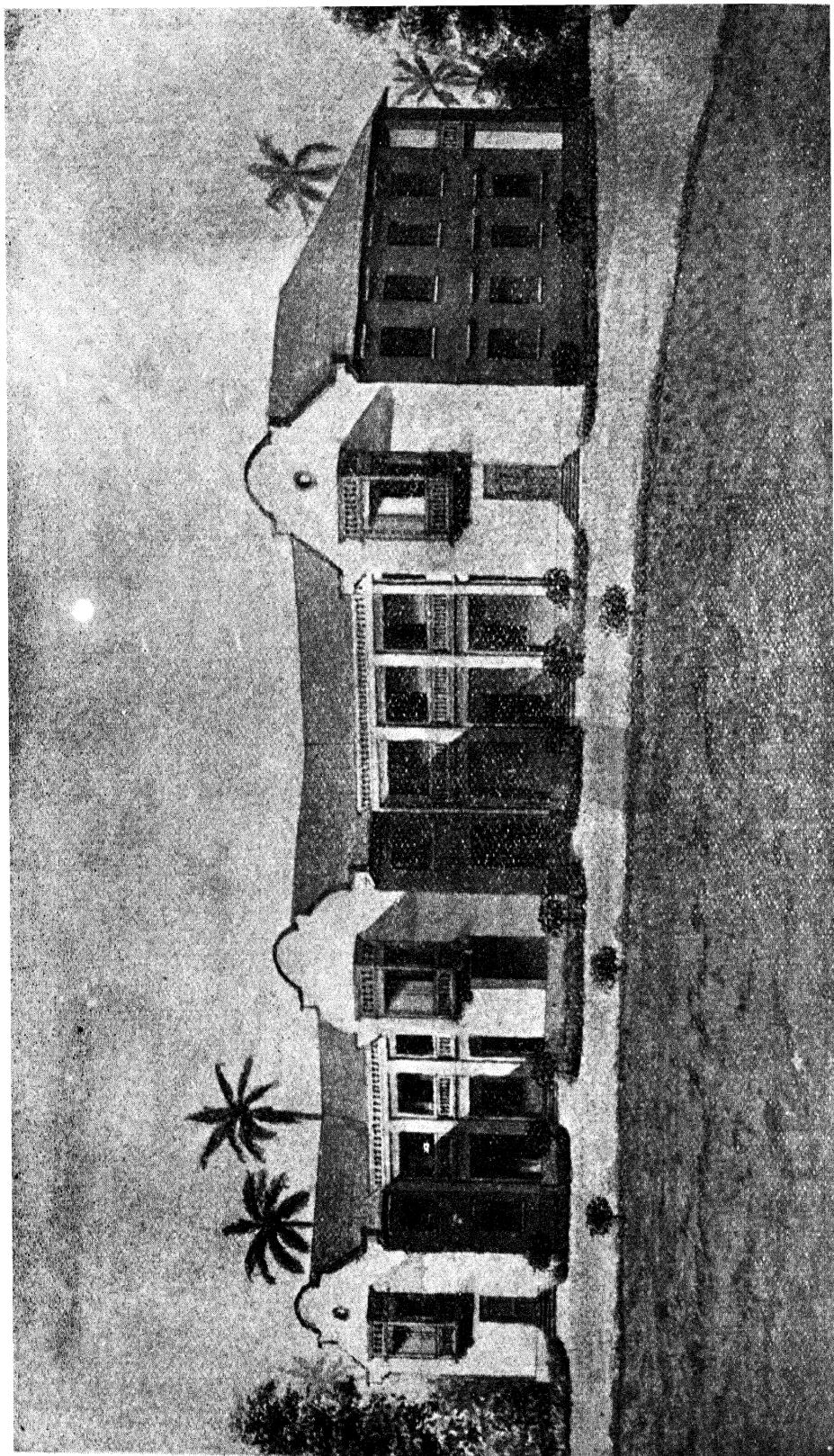
With devotions and prayers to the Almighty God for His help and blessings, I declare this stone truly and well laid”.

The Salvation Army English School Opened.

On Wednesday, the 22nd November, the Salvation Army had a function. The Army had been conducting schools in the villages to meet the needs of the rural population. In view of



His Grace the Most Rev. Mar Ivanios, O. I., D. D., M. A.
Archbishop and Founder of the School



School building as it would be when completed.

their declared principle of action the Army have been keeping in mind their one aim of Education, *viz*, to keep the recipients of education to their hereditary tradition of work and follow such methods as will not change them from their moorings. Their object has never been to produce B. A's who, forgetting their ancestral work stand unhinged to their old yoke and are a burden to the society at large. Whether boys or girls, they give education just to remove darkness and enable the young pupils to secure the advantages of the Three R's, leaving it to such of those pupils of more than average intelligence and industry to secure scholarships, prizes and other rewards to go up to the top and obtain eminence. In this way the aim of the Salvation Army is to maintain the economic level of the community and raise it, if possible. On this principle the Salvation Army has been conducting a Middle School. A number of factors have contributed towards making the Middle School a High School in convenient stages. There is a recently constructed building for the Middle School which is sufficiently big not only for its own purpose but also for accommodating higher classes of a High School. The Salvation Army school site having become very popular on account of the neighbourhood of the Palace of His Highness the Maharaja, the need arose for further expansion. The children of various persons who had to seek habitation very close to the Palace found it very inconvenient to attend schools situated at long distances. The new English School will serve the purpose of these children also. It has plenty of playground and has other conveniences.

A large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen assembled in response to the request of the Management presided over by the Territorial Commander Chas. F. A. Mackenzie. On arrival, the Dewan was received with musical honours and conducted to his seat on the dais.

Lieut. Commissioner Mackenzie's Speech.

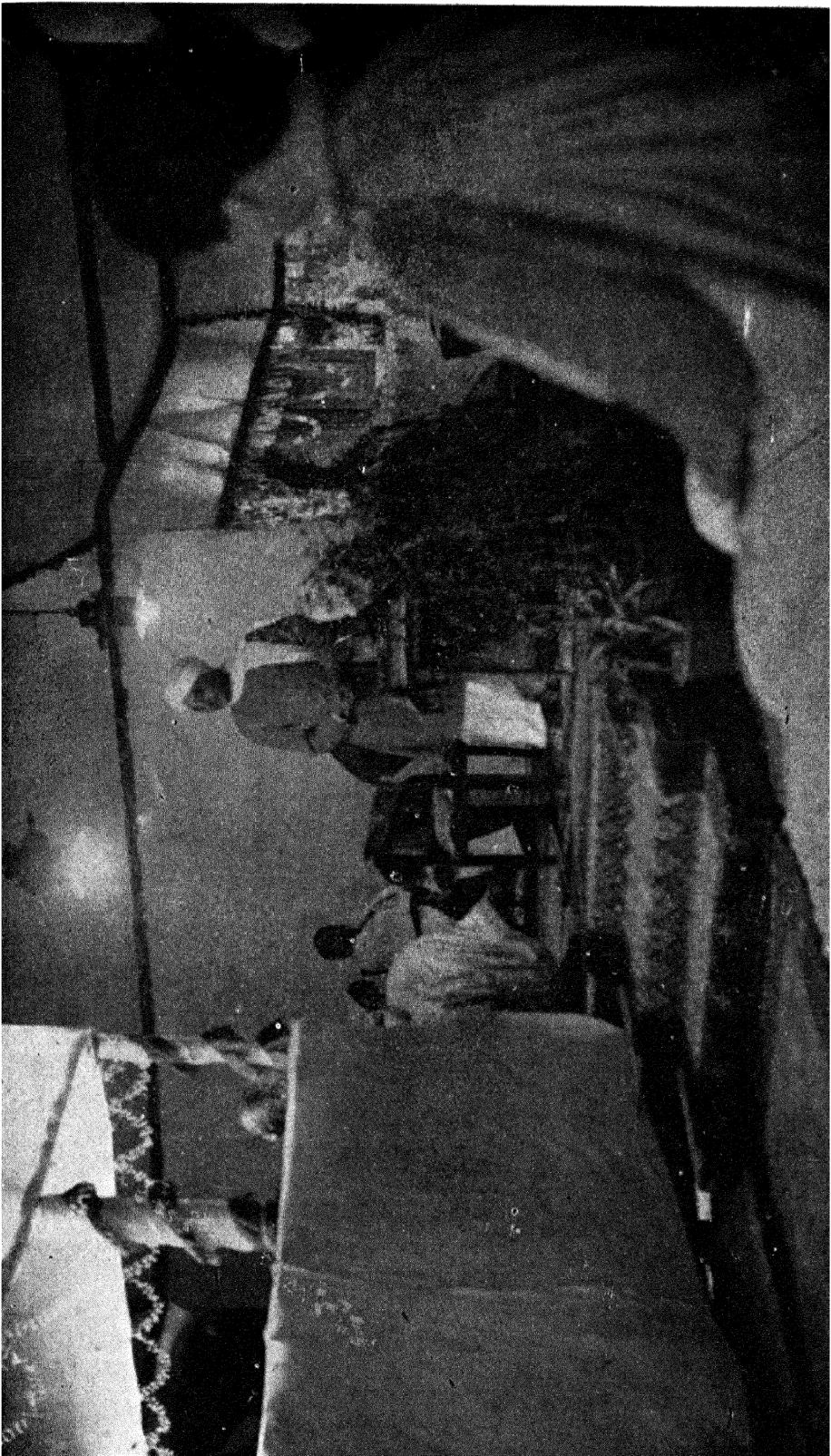
In requesting the Dewan to perform the ceremony of opening the new building Lieut. Commissioner Chas. F. A. Mackenzie, Territorial Commander, Head Quarters, said:—

We are happy and honoured in having you here today for the opening of this school building.

The origin of this school dates back to 1917. At that time this section of Trivandrum was undeveloped and the school's beginning was of a very limited character. In 1919, it became a complete English Middle School with a strength of 82. The School has increased in strength from year to year and at this time, 20 years later, we have a strength of 315 in the preparatory class, first, second and third forms.

The remarkable development of this section of the city and the increase in population has demanded each year greater educational facilities. Teaching efficiency has kept pace with the growth of the school and a high standard has been maintained. This is evidenced by the fact that not less than 80% of the children who pass through the school go on to join the High School and it is a pleasing fact that each year at least one pupil sent up for His Highness' scholarship examination has been successful.

During the past four years, the necessity for increasing the accommodation of the school has engaged our attention. Plans for extension and also for the beautifying of the old existing building in order to make it more in keeping with the beautiful palace square were considered and the site was viewed with many wistful thoughts with a view to bringing into being a building in keeping with the surroundings. (But it is hard to fit a new piece of cloth to an old garment). It was your Government,



Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar replying to the Salvation Army Address

Sir, who suggested the moving back to this present site and this has helped us to solve our problem.

This Institution is co-educational in character. Boys and girls sit in classes with a spirit of mutual respect and healthy, good relationship. Our provision for a division in the recreation ground and certain necessary privacy for the girls attending the school is a matter which we have greatly considered and we believe the results will be greatly appreciated.

Up to the present time this has been an English Middle School, but there has been expressed a desire by a large number of residents in the neighbourhood that the standard of the school should be raised to that of an High School, and with the permission of the Educational authorities, we hope in due course to make this advance by easy steps opening one Form at a time, until our ultimate object is attained.

We want to say how much the Salvation Army appreciate, Sir, your presence with us here today. Your interest in the cultural and educational advancement of this city, in fact the whole of Travancore, is well known. We are proud to feel that you, in performing this function today, will have your name specially linked with this school.

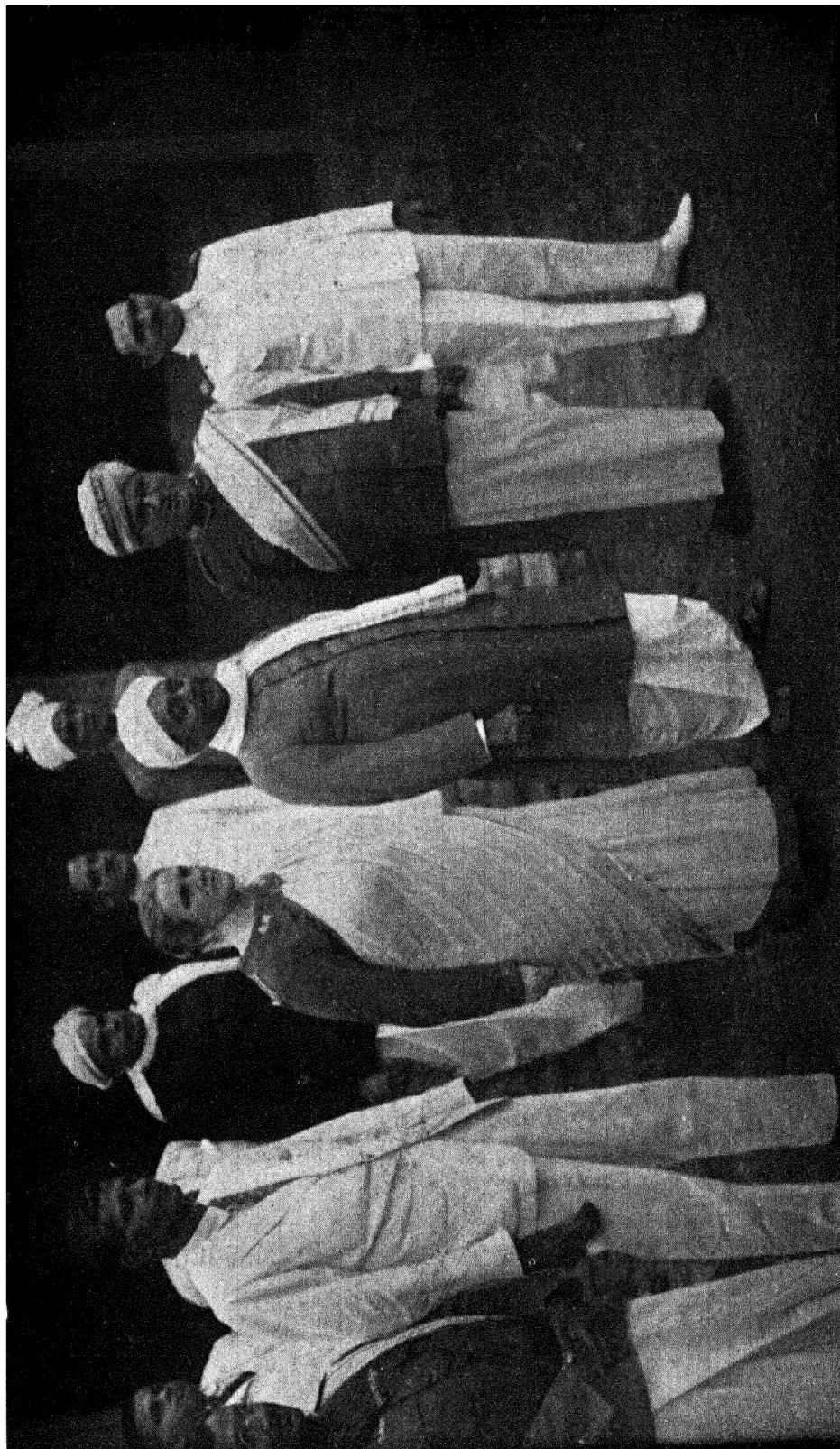
Situated as we are in this unique position, at the very gate of the Palace of His Highness our beloved Maharaja, we shall dedicate this school, not only to the cause of general education, but for the creation of good citizenship, loyalty to His Highness the Maharaja and love of country—Travancore.

This is a happy occasion which we shall long remember, the opening of this school by you, Sir, the Head of the Government and its illustrious Dewan. We thank you for the honour you have done us this day.

In rising to address the assembly the Dewan was received with applause. He then said:—

Commander Mackenzie, Mrs. Mackenzie, Members of the Salvation Army, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must thank you, Commander Mackenzie, for your speech and, even more than the words of the speech, for the helpfulness and the spirit of co-operation underlying that speech. I am here to bear witness to that spirit of co-operation even in the matter of the location of the site of the school. It became necessary for me to have a discussion, a frank and friendly discussion, with Commander Mackenzie and the authorities of the Salvation Army for the purpose of enabling the Salvation Army to fulfil and carry out their educational ideal and programme and at the same time to help the Government of Travancore in regard to certain aspects of location of buildings, and town-planning in relation to the Kaudiyar Square. And, it is with very great pleasure and with a feeling of profound satisfaction, over the spirit of give-and-take displayed by you and by the Salvation Army, that I wish to acknowledge on this occasion that not only was there no difficulty placed in our way, but that you went more than half way to meet us and to satisfy what I venture to call the reasonable demands of the Government. I, therefore, felt a kind of moral duty or compulsion on my part to come here today—I do not think I needed any compulsion to come here today—but I felt that obligation; and it is my duty to express that obligation. I am glad, Sir, that you have stated that, in addition to fulfilling this demand, the change of location of the site of your school building has also been useful to you from the educational point of view and also from the point of view of the amenities of the school. I congratulate those responsible for the inception of



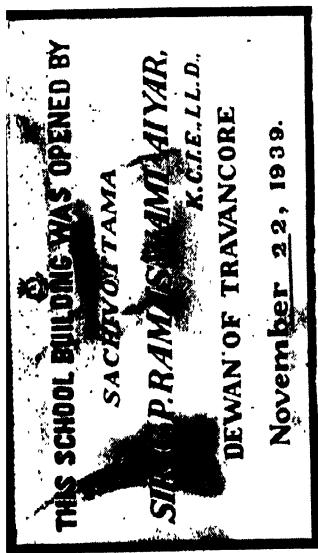
Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and the Salvation Army Officers

the school and for the idea of housing it here. As you have pointed out, this locality is daily growing in importance, and, as the scheme of town-planing gets more and more advanced, this locality, from its very nature, on account of its proximity to the Palace, is bound to become one of the life centres of the city if not of this State. That being so, it is a matter of genuine satisfaction that the Salvation Army School is situated in one of the nerve centres of the city.

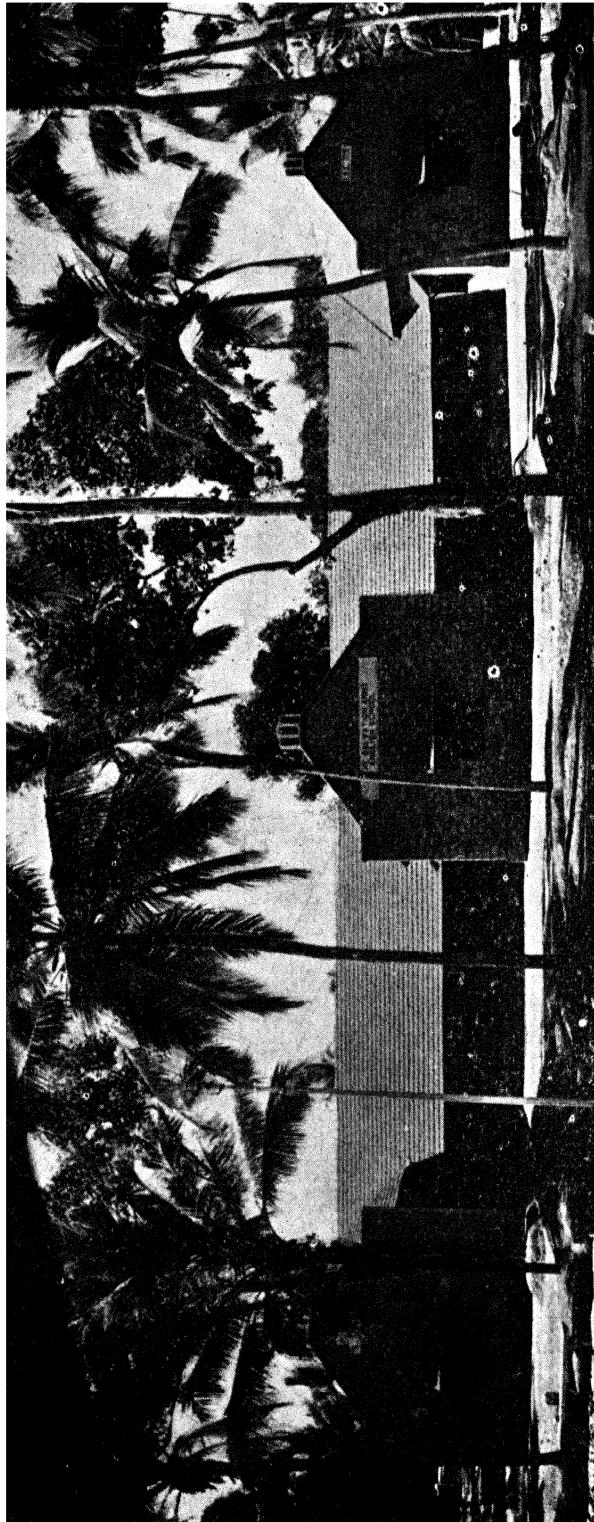
I do not desire on this occasion to say very much about the Salvation Army itself and its work. I have, elsewhere, in dealing with the illustrious visitor to this State who was the head of the Salvation Army, presided over a meeting which she addressed, and have given my impression of the Salvation Army, and the work it is doing. Certain good things bear repetition; therefore, very slightly I shall sketch the history of the Salvation Army and the work that it has been able to do.

Speaking purely from my personal point of view, I came across the Salvation Army as Member of another Government, when I had to deal with the tremendous humanitarian work which the Salvation Army is engaged in various parts of the Madras Presidency in the matter of leprosy relief and reclamation of criminal tribes. On more than one occasion, in that capacity, I have paid my tribute to the Salvation Army and its work. After all, the Salvation Army is a very young organisation; I believe I am correct in saying that the first idea of starting it germinated somewhere about 1865. As a very young man I used to hear of the initial difficulties of the Salvation Army, of the way in which the members of the Army were derided and jeered at, and how their attempts to spread light amongst the down-trodden classes in the London slums were not only not appreciated but the missionaries were subjected even to physical—not to

mention the other kinds of—insults and assaults. Notwithstanding all these difficulties they spread the light as the light came to them. From about 1878, the Salvation Army became an aggressive organisation; it is intended to be that. *Quasi Military* discipline and organisation devoted to practical and direct teaching based on the reality of sin and redemption became the main feature of your Army which largely utilised the services of 'converted' people. I can well remember the stir made when Col. Booth published his work "Darkest England". And, speaking on behalf of a religion and a faith where that spirit of aggressiveness is somewhat rare, I say that that aggression is all for a good cause, for the purpose of social service. You consider that the methods of an army—not the ethics of certain armies—, *viz.*, those of bombardment and of attack, should be the methods that you should pursue. And, from that point of view, you have established offices, commands, and generalships amongst you, for the purpose of ensuring that unity of purpose and homogeneity of direction, without which great work is rarely accomplished. Starting very late, you have spread all over the world, fighting leprosy, doing social work, establishing overseas settlements, conducting rescue homes and night shelters and maternity homes, working amongst the poor and the down-trodden and the oppressed in many countries, and spreading the truths of religion you see therein with the aid of propaganda and music and song. But the main point, the important point which no one who is engaged in social work should omit to realise is this, namely, that you have perceived and have carried into effect the great, the fundamental idea that, without organisation, without voluntary, self-imposed, dedicated work and without generally well planned-out schemes, you cannot deal with any problem, social or economic. With comparatively few resources, you started; and your very enthusiasm has brought



Stone Inscription



The Salvation Army English Middle School

you more resources, until today you count for something in every country in the world. Speaking for myself, whenever I tour round Travancore, I invariably find on a bicycle somebody belonging to the Salvation Army trundling along doing his bit; and whenever there is an opportunity for discoursing to crowds, the Salvation Army is there. I fully realise the tremendous earnestness and enthusiasm that characterise you. It is that characteristic which we who belong to the other communities have to assimilate, as I said on a previous occasion.

I am glad that you are starting this school; and you are starting it with the idea not only of helping young children educationally but of building their character as described so eloquently and so very convincingly by Mrs. Mackenzie in her very touching prayer. In education, we need a new outlook, we need a new attitude, on the part of the parents and on the part of the students, and also on the part of the teachers. The times are out of joint. The problems that are confronting the world today are individual and *sui generis* in character. Such problems have rarely ever confronted the world. We are living at a time when fundamentals are questioned, when creeds are doubted, when what may be called essentials in religion and faith are regarded as subjects for controversy and doubt. It is at such a juncture that educational effort and the educational impact of schools upon the future citizens have a peculiar importance, a peculiar significance. What is indeed, as you very rightly pointed out, Mrs. Mackenzie, is the building up of character in order to make for strength, for joy, for lively sense of duty, for loyalties, not only loyalties in the ordinary sense of not breaking the law, but loyalties in the sense of humanising young children, making them akin to the society, akin to their families and to the larger family of which the State is the embodiment, loyalty to the head of that larger family, namely, the Ruler, maintenance

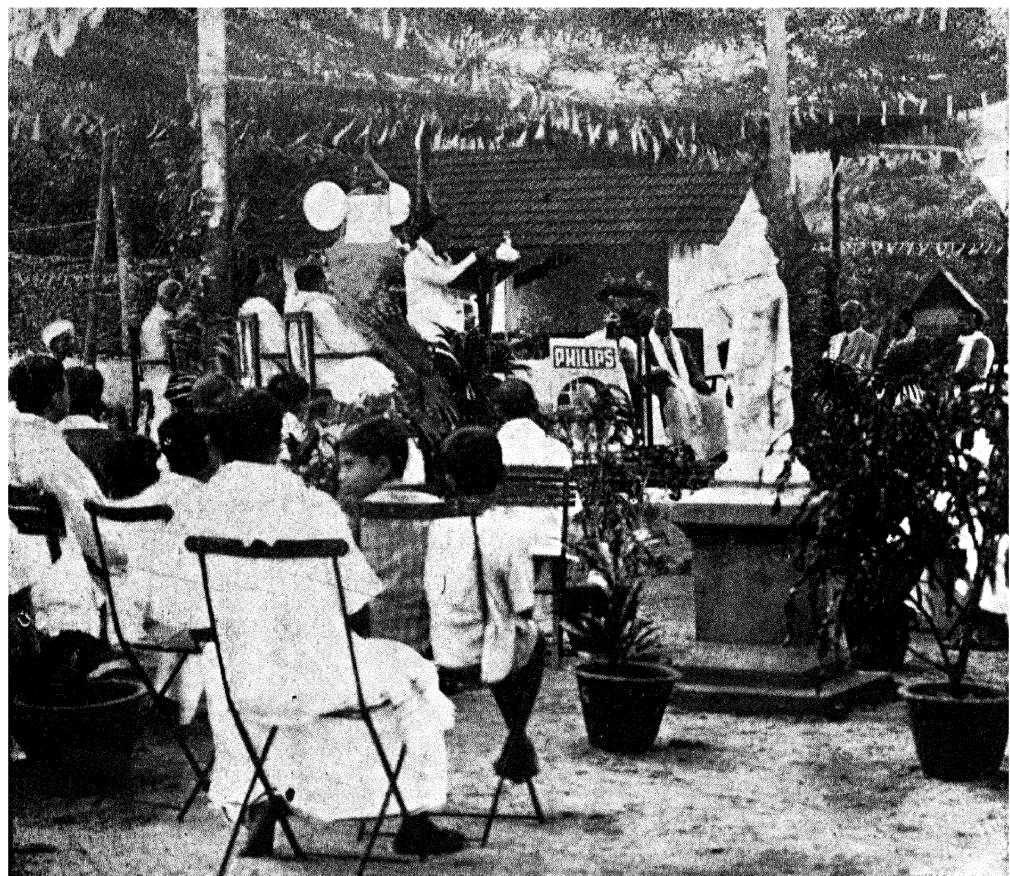
of society and a desire to preserve the best in the old before adopting new ideals, and the transition to such better method being achieved by right means in the right manner. Bringing up school children that way involves difficult exacting work. But, your organisation, your enthusiasm which has stood the Salvation Army in good stead, your strenuous work, will, no doubt, help you to achieve that noble ideal. With that hope, with that confident belief, I have great pleasure in participating in this function and in congratulating those who are responsible for today's ceremony. I have great pleasure in declaring the school open (*Cheers*), wishing it all prosperity, and all success in its attempts to work for the best ideals of humanity, and wishing it God speed (*Cheers.*)

Memorial Painting Unveiled at Thiruvattar.

On Wednesday, the 13th December, 1939, the people of Thiruvattar, an outlying village about 30 miles from the capital city, had assembled in large numbers at the hall of the local Sub-Registrar's Office to witness the ceremony of unveiling the painting of Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. The inhabitants of the locality had collected the funds necessary for an Oil Painting as a memorial to commemorate the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Mr. T. Kumara Pillai, the well known leader of the people, made a speech in the course of which he paid a high tribute to the Dewan for the valuable services he had rendered to the State. He then requested Mr. M. K. Nilakanta Aiyar, B. A., B. L., Chief Secretary to Government, to unveil the painting.

Mr. Nilakanta Aiyar, who on rising, was vociferously cheered, performed the pleasant task entrusted to him. He then spoke in Malayalam as follows:—



The Sachivothama Park, Kottayam

മാനുശേ !

അസാധാരണമായ വ്യക്തിവെവേത്തിൻറെ അസ്വലമോയ മുത്തീകരണമായ പ്രശ്നങ്ങായ ഒരു ഭാരതീയൻറെ ഭ്രതകാലനേട്ടങ്ങളെ സ്വന്നിക്കുന്നതിനും, ബഹുമാനിക്കുന്നതിനും ആയിട്ടാണ് നാം ഇന്നി വിംഗ കുടിയിരിക്കുന്നതു്. നിയമശാസ്ത്രപാരംഗതനായ ഒരു അഭിഭാഷകവർഗ്ഗം, അഭിത്തീയനായ ഒരു രാജ്യതന്ത്രക്കാലം, ദീർഘാവലോകനപട്ടവായ ഒരു പൊതുജനനേതാവു്, വർദ്ധിയചിന്തക്കു് അതിനും ഒരു സ്വധാരണമിന്നും, ഉദാഹരിതിയായ ഒരു പ്രഭു, സരസനായ ഒരു വാഗ്മി, ഒരു തന്മ ദേശാദിമാനി, വിശിഷ്ടനായ ഒരു കലാകാരൻ എന്നിങ്ങനെ നാനാപ്രകാരത്തിലും വിശ്രൂതനും, സമ്മതനും ആയ ഒരു മഹാനാശൻ സഹിവോത്തമൻ, ഡാക്ടർ സർ സി. പി. റാമ സ്വാമി അന്തു. സംഗ്രഹിതത്തിലും സാഹിത്യത്തിലും, നിയമശാസ്ത്രത്തിലും ധനത്തപ്രശ്നാന്തരിലും, രാജ്യതന്ത്രത്തിലും, രംഗതന്ത്രത്തിലും, കൂഷിയിലും, കൈത്തോഴിലിലും, എന്ന വേണ്ട മിക്ക വിഷയങ്ങളിലും ഒരോലെ പ്രാഗ്രത്യും സിലിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു പ്രതിഭാശാലി ഇദ്ദേഹ തെപ്പോലെ മരറാരാറി ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ മഹാനഭാവന മായും എൻ്റെ പരിചയത്തിനു് ഇപ്പോൾ നുഠ സംവർഖനരത്തെ പഴക്കുമെന്തു്. ചരംമുള്ളവയുടെ അഭിനവങ്ങങ്ങൾ അവകാശാക്കി കൊണ്ടു് പല പ്രവർത്തിപദ്ധതികളിൽകൂടി നിരന്തരം പ്രവർത്തിച്ചു കൊണ്ടിരുന്ന അദ്ദേഹത്തിൻറെ സംഭവബഹുലമായ ജീവിതത്തെ ആ ശ്വേതതോട്ടം ഒരുമാതിരി വീരാരാധനയോടും കൂടി ഞാൻ അനുമതലെ പശിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. ഇന്നാത്തെ ഉദ്ദോഗബന്ധം ഒരുക്കാലത്തു് ഉണ്ടാക്കുമെന്നു് അനും വിചാരിച്ചിരുന്നേ ഇല്ല.

സർ രാമസ്വാമി അനുരേപ്പോലെ വിവിധങ്ങളായ പരിചയങ്ങളോടും, ആഭിമാനിക്കാത്തക്ക നേട്ടങ്ങളോടും, അവിലാരത്തുപ്രശ്നങ്ങൾ യോടും കുടിയ അധികം ദിവാന്റജിമാർ തിങ്കിതാംകൂർ മന്ത്രിപദത്തെ അലക്കരിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. വിശിഷ്ടമായ ഒരു വിദ്യാത്മിജീവിതത്തിനശേഷം മൾഡൈ-ൽ അദ്ദേഹം മദ്രാസിൽ അഭിഭാഷകമുത്തിയിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചു. മദ്രാസ് പ്രസിദ്ധൻസി കാളേജ് ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് പ്രഫസറായിരുന്ന മി. ബിൽസ്യർബൈക്ക് സർ. സി. പി. യുടെ പ്രഫസറായിരുന്നു. മൾഡൈ-ൽ സി. പി. പ്രസിദ്ധൻസി കാളേജ് വിദ്യാത്മിജായിരുന്ന കാലത്തു് മി. ബിൽസ്യർബൈക്ക് ‘that rising young boy is my student.

സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യരുടെ അന്വാദിലൂലിയ പ്രതി താവിലാസത്തേയും അനാധികാരിയായ പാണ്ഡിത്യത്തേയും സമാജരിച്ചു് പല സർക്കലാശാലകളിൽ നിയമശാസ്ത്രസംബന്ധമായും, അത്മശാസ്ത്രസംബന്ധമായും പ്രസംഗിക്കാറുള്ള ചെറുന്നതിന് അദ്ദേഹത്തെ ക്ഷണിച്ചി

ക്ഷേত്രം. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, നിയമം മുതലായ ശാഖകളിലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രശ്നങ്ങൾ സേവനത്തെ അനുസൃതിചെയ്യുന്നതിനും ഇന്ത്യൻ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്താം കൂർ സർക്കലാശാലയിൽ നിന്നും എൽ. എൽ. ഡി. ബിരുദം പ്രഭാനം ചെയ്യുന്നതും ഇന്ത്യ അവസരത്തിൽ സവിശേഷം പ്രസ്താവയോഗ്യമാണ്.

അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അനുസാരാനുമായ ബുദ്ധിശക്തിയേയും, നിയമ പാണ്ഡിത്യത്രേതയും ബഹുമാനിച്ചു മദ്രാസ് ഗവൺമെന്റ് മന്ദിരം-ൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനെ അവിടത്തെ അധിപക്ഷക്കുറു ജനറലായും, മൂന്ന് സം വർഷരം കഴിത്തു് ആ ഗവൺമെന്റിലെ ലാമെസ്വരായും നിയമിച്ചു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സാമത്മ്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഗവൺമെന്റിനാണ്ടായിരുന്ന മതിച്ചു് അടിക്കടി വബ്ലിച്ചവന്നതിനാൽ മന്ദിരം-ൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തെ ഗവൺമെന്റ് Executive Council ന്റെ ഉപാധ്യക്ഷനായി നിയമിച്ചു. ഇക്കാലത്താണ് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പൊതുക്കാരുള്ളപ്രസക്തിക്കും ബുദ്ധി വൈവേത്തിനും, കമ്മക്കൾതയ്ക്കും സാര്വാപരി അഭിപ്രായ ഭാർഖ്യ തത്തിനും നിതാന്തസാക്ഷ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നതും ആവത്തിച്ചു് അകീത്തിക്ക പ്രെസ്റ്റിവത്തന്ത്രമായ Mettur Irrigation Project ന്റെയും Pykara Hydro-Electric Scheme-ന്റെയും നൂതന്യാരത്പരം അദ്ദേഹം വഹിച്ചതു്.

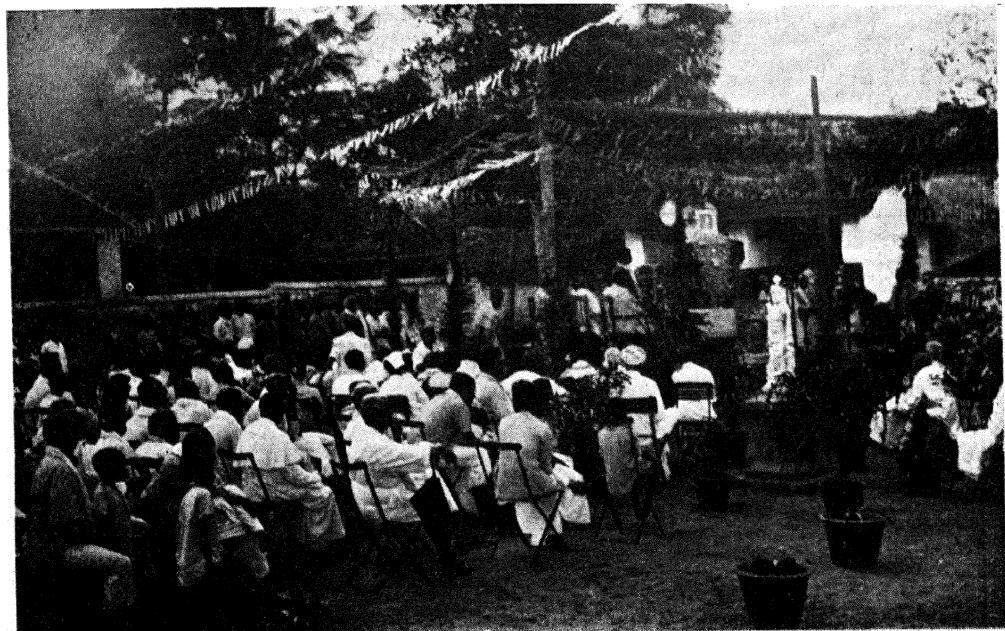
മദ്രാസിലെ ഉദ്ഘാടന ജീവിതത്തിൽ നിന്നും വിരമിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം സദാ ജാഗ്രതകമായി അദ്ദേഹം വിശ്വാം അഭിഭാഷക ഘൂതത്തിൽ എർപ്പേട്ടു്. ഇൻഡ്യൻ ഭരണപരിജ്ഞാരത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും Joint Select കമ്മററിയിൽ അദ്ദേഹം ഒരു മെമ്പർ ആയിരുന്നു. League of Nations-ലും അദ്ദേഹം ഇൻഡ്യയെ പ്രതിനിധികരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

ഇപ്പോൾ വിവിധങ്ങളായ പരിചയസ്വത്തോടുകൂടിയാണ് അദ്ദേഹം തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്താം കൂർ ലിവാൻജി ഉദ്ഘാടനം കരുതുന്നതു്. ആ കാല ഘട്ടം ഇൻഡ്യൻ നാട്ടരാജ്യങ്ങളുടെയും വിശേഷിച്ചു് സപ്രത്മായ പല പ്രശ്നങ്ങളും ഉള്ള തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തിരുന്നും പരിത്രണത്തിൽ അതി പ്രധാനമായ ഒരു സന്ദർഭമായിരുന്നു. ഇന്നുള്ളതുപോലെ നിസ്സന്ന മഹായി അദ്ദേഹത്തെ അന്നത്തെമുക്കിനിൽ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തുനിലെ ചുരുക്കം ചീല ആളുകളുകൂടിയും പൂജ്യമായി സമ്മതമുള്ളവർ ആയിരിക്കയി ക്കുന്നു് അദ്ദേഹം ആ അവസരത്തിൽ സംശയിക്കാതിരുന്നില്ല. ഒ

ദയം തുറന്നുള്ള ആത്മാത്മതയേട്ടുകൂടി അദ്ദേഹം തിരുവിതാംകൂരിലെ പെട്ടരസവയത്തോട് നിസ്സംശയമായ സഹകരണം ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ട്. “രാജുത്തിലെ ഓരോ ജനവിഭാഗത്തോടും വർദ്ധവിഭാഗത്തോടും, വ്യക്തിയോടു എന്ന പരീക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനും, എന്നാട്ട് സഹകരിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം എൻ്റെ പ്രവർത്തിയുടെ ഫലങ്ങളെ പരിശോധിക്കുന്നതിൽ എന്ന നിശ്ചാവശ്യപ്പെട്ടുന്നതിൽ ഞാൻ വ്യസനിക്കുകയില്ല. എന്നാൽ ഇപ്പോൾ എന്നിക്കു ആവശ്യം നിംബുട്ടുക അനുഭാവവും, സഹായവും, സൗരധ്യം നീഉവും സഹകരണവുമാണ്”. എന്നാണ് അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞതു്. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വാക്കുകൾ വെരുതേ ആയിട്ടുണ്ട്.

അസാധാരണമായ ഡിപ്പണാഗ്രഹകതിയാലും കുമ്മകൾലെതയാലും അന്തരുഹിതനായ അദ്ദേഹം തിരുവിതാംകൂർ നിവാസികളുടെ എന്നല്ല, ഇന്ത്യാക്കാദാനെയല്ലാ, തന്നെ പ്രശംസക പാത്രീവേക്കത്തെവെന്നും പ്രയോജനകരങ്ങളായ പല പരിജ്ഞാരക്കളും ഇതിനിടയിൽ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്.

സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅംഗൂർ തിരുവിതാംകൂരിലെ മന്ത്രി പദം കൈമുറതിനശേഷം ഇവിടെ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ള ഏറ്റവും വലിയ പരിജ്ഞാരം അവള്ളും അവളും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനം അനുവദിച്ചതാണ്. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിളംബരം പ്രവൃംബനം ചെയ്യുന്ന തിനു മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഉപദേശിക്കുകയും ദേയൽപ്പെട്ടതു കയ്യും ചെയ്യുമാത്രമല്ലാ, വിളംബരം അതിൽ അന്തർഭവിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ആത്മയാദിംഗം ആദർശങ്ങളുടുമനസ്സരിച്ച് നടപ്പിൽവരുത്തുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതിൽ ദിവാൻജി അവർക്കും ഏതുമാത്രം പ്രശംസയും അർഹിക്കുന്ന ശൈലംജീരു സുവൃക്തമാണോല്ലോ. തിരുവിതാംകൂർരാജുവും മിന്ന മതവുമുള്ളകാലമത്രയും സർ സി. പി. രാമസ്വാമിഅംഗൂർക്കു നാമധേയവും സകല മിന്നകളും കൂതാൽത്താവുവും സെമരിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതിനും യാതൊരു സംശയവുമല്ല. മന്ത്രിപദം കൈമുറതശേഷം ആദ്ദുരമായി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയെ ആക്ഷിച്ചിച്ചതു് ഇന്മാരുടെ ഭാരിഡ്രവും തൊഴിലില്ലായുമാണ്. അതിനാൽ ഇവിടെത്തെ വ്യവസായ സൗകര്യം അഭേദപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതും ശരന്മേഖലാം നടത്തുകയും, വിചുലമായ ഒരു വ്യവസായീകരണപദ്ധതി നടപ്പിലാക്കുകയും ചെയ്യു. പജ്ജിവാസൽ വെവ്വേജീതു പലതി കഴിയുന്നവെത്തിൽ ഷൂത്രിയാക്കി വ്യവസായാദിവുലി



The Sachivotthama Park, Kottayam another View

ക്കെതിനെ ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നതിനും വേണ്ട ഏപ്പുട്ടകൾം ചെയ്യു. ബാം ബാധിലെ സാമുഖിക മില്ലകാര്യമായി ഏഴുത്തുക്കൂത്തുകൾനടത്തി അവരുടെ വകയായി ആലുവായിൽ ഒരു മില്ലസ്ഥാപിച്ചു. വെള്ളം, വെള്ളി ചും, വെള്ളത്തശക്തി, ജലനിർഗമനപലതി, വാഹനസൗകര്യം എന്നി ത്രാം ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കും ഏററുവും പ്രയോജനകരമായ വിധത്തിൽ സംയോജിപ്പിച്ചും, നിയന്ത്രിച്ചും, രാജുത്തിലെ വ്യവസായത്തെ ഘട്ടി പ്രുട്ടത്തേണ്ടതാണെന്നും അദ്ദേഹം തീരുമാനിച്ചു. ഗവർണ്ണറിന്റെ ആദിജീവ്യത്തിൽ നടത്തിവന്നിരുന്ന റബ്ബർഹാക്ക്‌ററി, ഷുഗർ ഹാക്ക്‌ററി, ടിക്ക്‌ഹർ ഹാക്ക്‌ററി മുതലായവ ലിമിറ്റഡ്‌കമ്പനികൾക്കു വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുകയും കണ്ണറ കളിമൺ‌ഹാക്ക്‌ററി പ്രവർത്തിപ്രമത്തിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരുകയും ചെയ്യു. രാജുത്തെ ഗതാഗതസന്ധ്യാക്കും വല്ലിപ്പുകൾ നന്നിനും, ഗതാഗതം സന്ധ്യാക്കും പ്രദരം ആദായകരവും ആക്കിത്തീക്കുന്ന തിനും പ്രയോജനപ്രുട്ടനു കാൻസ്‌പോർട്ട്‌പലതി നടപ്പിൽവരുത്തുകയും ചെയ്യു.

പുതിയ തിങ്കിതാംകുർ സർക്കലാശാല സ്ഥാപിച്ചതോടുകൂടി തിങ്കിതാംകുർിലെ വില്ലാല്പ്രാസനയും ആരുലാറും പരിജ്ഞാരിക്കുന്ന തിനും അദ്ദേഹം തീച്ച്യാക്കി വില്ലാല്പ്രാസം കഴിയുന്നതും പ്രായോഗിക വും മനസംസ്കാരത്തിനും ജീവിതസന്ധ്യാരണത്തിനും ഉപയുക്തവും ആക്കിത്തീക്കുത്തക്കവുണ്ടും വിശാലമായ ഒരു പലതി അദ്ദേഹം നടപ്പിൽവരുത്തി. കായിക സംസ്കാരത്തിനും പ്രാധാന്യം നൽകുകയും സൈറ്റ് പ്രധാനം അഭിരൂപ്തിയെ പ്രാപിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ട സെന്റക്രീസ്തവിന്റെ നൽകുകയും സർക്കലാശാലയിലെ വില്ലാത്തമിക്കൾക്കുമാത്രമായി ഒരു “Labour Corps” സ്ഥാപിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യു.

മുതുപോലെതന്നെ ദേശീയ കാലോഡാരണത്തിലും അംഗീകാരത്തിന്റെ ശുഭ പതിയുകളുണ്ടായി. ശ്രീവിത്രാലയം, നാത്കകലാലയം, ശ്രീ സാംതിതികനാഡി സംഗ്രഹിത കലാലയം മുതലായവ ഇതിനും തുജ്ജാ നെടുപ്പുണ്ടും. സംസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ പല ഭാഗങ്ങളിലുായി ആരംഭിച്ച കൂടി മുലജലവിതരണപലതികളും പ്രധാനപ്രുട്ട സ്ഥലങ്ങളെ തന്നിൽ ബന്ധിക്കുന്ന കുക്കുടും കെലവോൺ പലതിയും ഭരിതനിവാരണങ്ങളിൽ നായി അപ്പുംപും ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽനിന്നും നൽകുന്ന സന്ധിന്നുങ്ങളും, പൊതുജനക്കുമരത്തെ ലാക്കുക്കി അടിക്കട്ടി ഉന്നഥനിശ്ചാരണിക്കുന്ന

നിയമനിമ്മാണങ്ങളും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഭീർഘദ്ദേശിയും ജനക്ഷേമകരംക്ഷയും ഉത്തരവിജ്ഞാനങ്ങളും.

പ്രശംസയ്ക്കുന്ന അമിതപ്രശ്ന വരാത്ത ഒരു വിഷയമാണ് സർസി.പി.രാമസപാമി അയ്ക്കു അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ചെയ്തികൾ വിവരിക്കുന്നതിന് പ്രഖ്യാപനങ്ങൾ മതിയാക്കുന്നതിലും നാം എത്രമാത്രം വിശദിക്ഷാനായ ഒരു വ്യക്തിയെങ്ങാണ് ഈ സുമുക്കത്തിൽ ബഹുമാനിക്കുന്നതെന്ന് നിങ്ങളെ അറിയുവിള്ളുകയുണ്ടായിരുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി മാത്രം അദ്ദേഹം ഈവിജ്ഞാനം ഇന്ത്യയാളി ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള ചില പ്രധാന പ്രവർത്തികളെ എടുത്തു കാണിക്കുന്നതിനു തോൻ ഒരു ഒരു പ്രവർത്തനാണ്.

ബോക്കോത്തരയശസ്ത്രിയായ സർസി.പി.രാമസപാമി അയ്ക്കു അരയോഗദായാത്രനായി, സബർഗപ്രത്യസന്ധൂളനായി വളരെക്കാലം ജീവിച്ചിരുന്നു പൊന്നതന്ത്രജ്ഞൻ തിങ്കളന്തും ആദർശങ്ങളെല്ലാം പരിപൂർണ്ണമാക്കിത്തീർജ്ജന്നതിന് ശ്രീപത്മനാഭൻ കടങ്ക്കിക്കുമാറാക്കട്ട!

A Town Hall for Thuckalay.

The people of the locality had collected sufficient money for the construction of a Town Hall at Thuckalay, with a Park for recreation, a Radio and other amenities. The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of this hall took place on Wednesday, the 13th December, 1939. In compliance with the invitation issued by the Sashtiabdapurthi Celebration Committee there was a large and distinguished assembly present.

The welcome speech being over, Mr. M. K. Nilakanta Aiyar, the Chief Secretary to Government, was asked to perform the task of laying the Foundation Stone.

In so doing Mr. Nilakanta Aiyar made the following speech which was punctuated with frequent and ringing cheers.

It is a real pleasure, and a proud privilege for me to be here with you this afternoon and to lay the foundation stone of

the Town Hall and Clock Tower that the people of the Kalkulam Taluk are putting up to commemorate the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore.

In the course of the last month, the people of Travancore have given unmistakable evidence of the esteem and appreciation in which they hold the Dewan by celebrating his *Sashtiabdapurthi* with unprecedented enthusiasm. That is only natural. In the first place, in thus honoring the trusted minister of His Gracious Highness our Maharaja, we are merely acting true to our glorious traditions of loyalty and steadfastness, and are emphatically, if indirectly, recording our grateful appreciation of His Highness' policy and ideals.

The history of the world has made us familiar with men of genius who stand out, head and shoulders, above their fellow men. The vital characteristic of all these men was that instead of drifting with the current as most of us do, they altered the course of the stream in conformity with their ideas. Some have shaped the destiny of nations ; others have directed the course of history ; yet others have guided the onward march of culture and of civilisation. Heroes and leaders of this type have been honoured in their own lifetime and by posterity. Solid constructive achievement, in whatever sphere of activity, deserves all honour. Sir C. P.'s. record of achievement is wellknown. It is our duty to honour one to whom honour is due, and today we are honoring one who richly deserves honour at the hands of the people of Travancore.

It has been my good fortune to work under, and to be in close contact with, this Head of the Administration. To me, it has been a stimulating and enlightening experience. I consider him not only my Administrative Chief but also my political "Guru". In him we have that rare combination of gifts—a

proved statesman of ripe experience and one who possesses unflinching courage and dynamic energy.

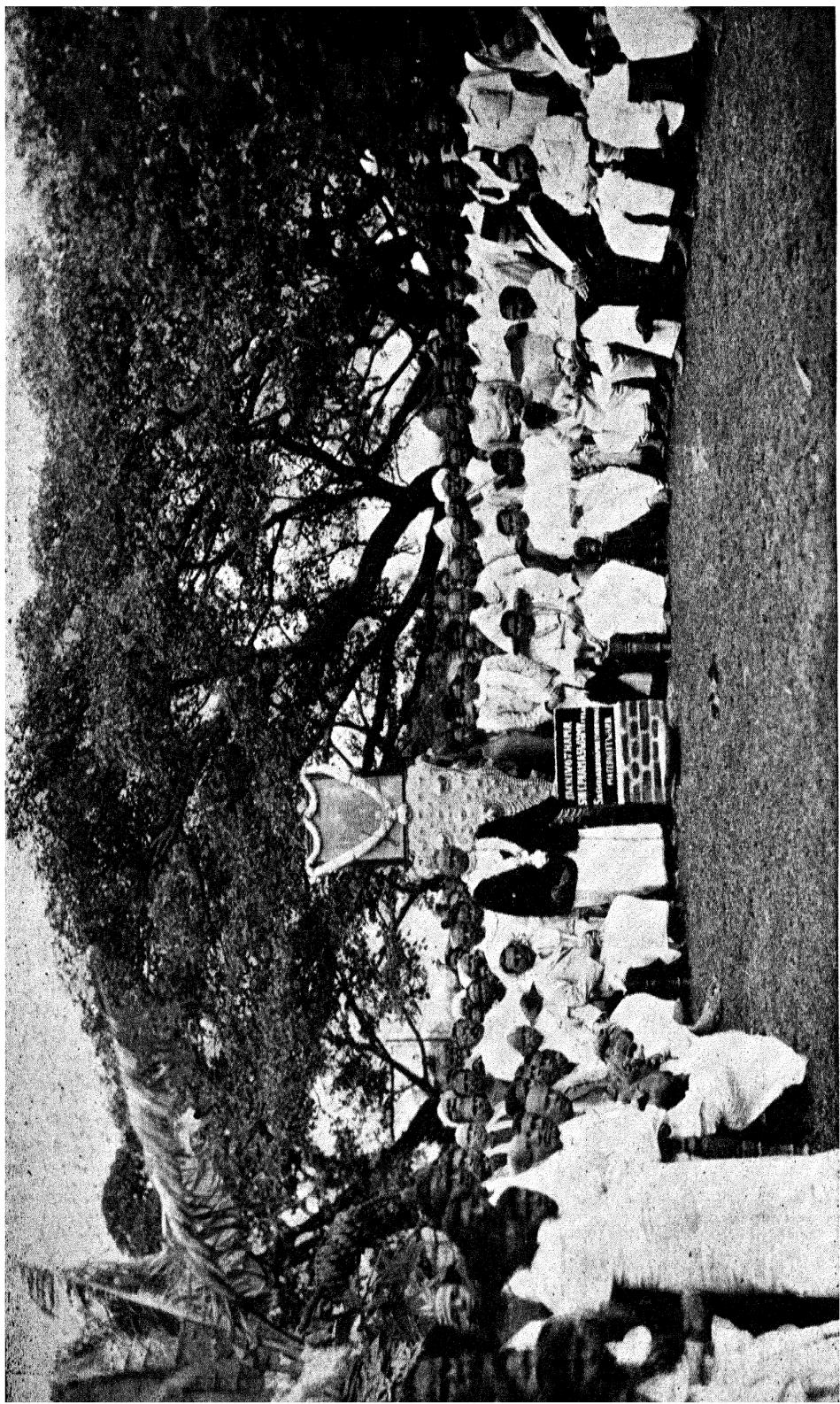
Ladies and Gentlemen, in 1931, the dawn of a new era was signalled in Travancore. There came to preside over the destinies of our beloved State, one, on whom the Gods had lavished their gifts and blessings in an abundant measure—a “Practical idealist”, to quote Sir C. P’s recent description—a practical idealist with the ardour and buoyancy characteristic of youth, one who takes a reasoned pride in the magnificent heritage, one whose heart is over-flowing with an immeasurable love of his people, and one whose dominating aim and aspiration is the happiness and the prosperity of his subjects.

Even before His Highness ascended the *musnad* Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, as the ablest British Indian statesman of the day, as one in whom His Highness had absolute confidence, was associated with His Highness. After His Highness’ assumption of ruling powers he was first appointed Legal and Constitutional Adviser to His Highness and later on, about three years ago, he was appointed Dewan and Head of the Administration.

All the right thinking people of Travancore believed then, and still believe, that His Highness could not have made a better choice. The superb pageant of Sir C. P’s achievement in British India has evoked unstinted admiration from men who matter in the counsels of the Empire and of the world. His motto may be defined to be “Work and Discipline”. Rich in talents, mellow in experience, with a driving power that has made Travancore “sit up and take notice”, Sir C. P. set about the task of translating into fact the lofty ideals of His Highness.

It is difficult to lead men so that a new generation, so that youth itself, appears as if re-born with a new spirit, a new virility

Foundation Laying of the Maternity ward, Shencottah



appearing as if bred in the bones. It is difficult enough to govern a State and difficult enough to deal cleanly and strongly with a static programme applied to a static world; but it is more difficult still to build a new State and deal cleanly and strongly with a dynamic programme applied to a dynamic world.

Let me now outline with brevity how Sir C. P. has turned the noble concepts of His Highness into realities. For material, he had in Travancore, human resources of a high order of intelligence and physical resources of glittering possibilities. It is not possible in the short time at my disposal to deal with his varied activities. That is a work which has to cover several printed pages. I propose to deal with one or two salient points.

Great as are his achievements in the past, by far the most outstanding of his achievements is the part he played in the Temple Entry Proclamation. As a writer has recently said "Even in the mutable state of human affairs when all else about Sir C. P. is forgotten, a permanent niche in the Temple of Fame will still be guaranteed to him and his name cherished with gratitude for his part in the epoch-making event."

A purely academic system of education had brought into sharp relief, what is called the problem of "Educated unemployment" in our State. Apart from the tragedy of the fact of unemployment, this State of affairs was ripe for mischief in many ways. The slow, gradual infiltration of ideas subversive of the social, political, religious and economic order and the negation of the accepted values of life, began to show up signs of discontent, of indiscipline. Sir C. P. launched forth a series of industrial enterprises to provide new openings for a large number of our young men. Not content with that, and correctly diagnosing the root of the evil, he inaugurated the University of

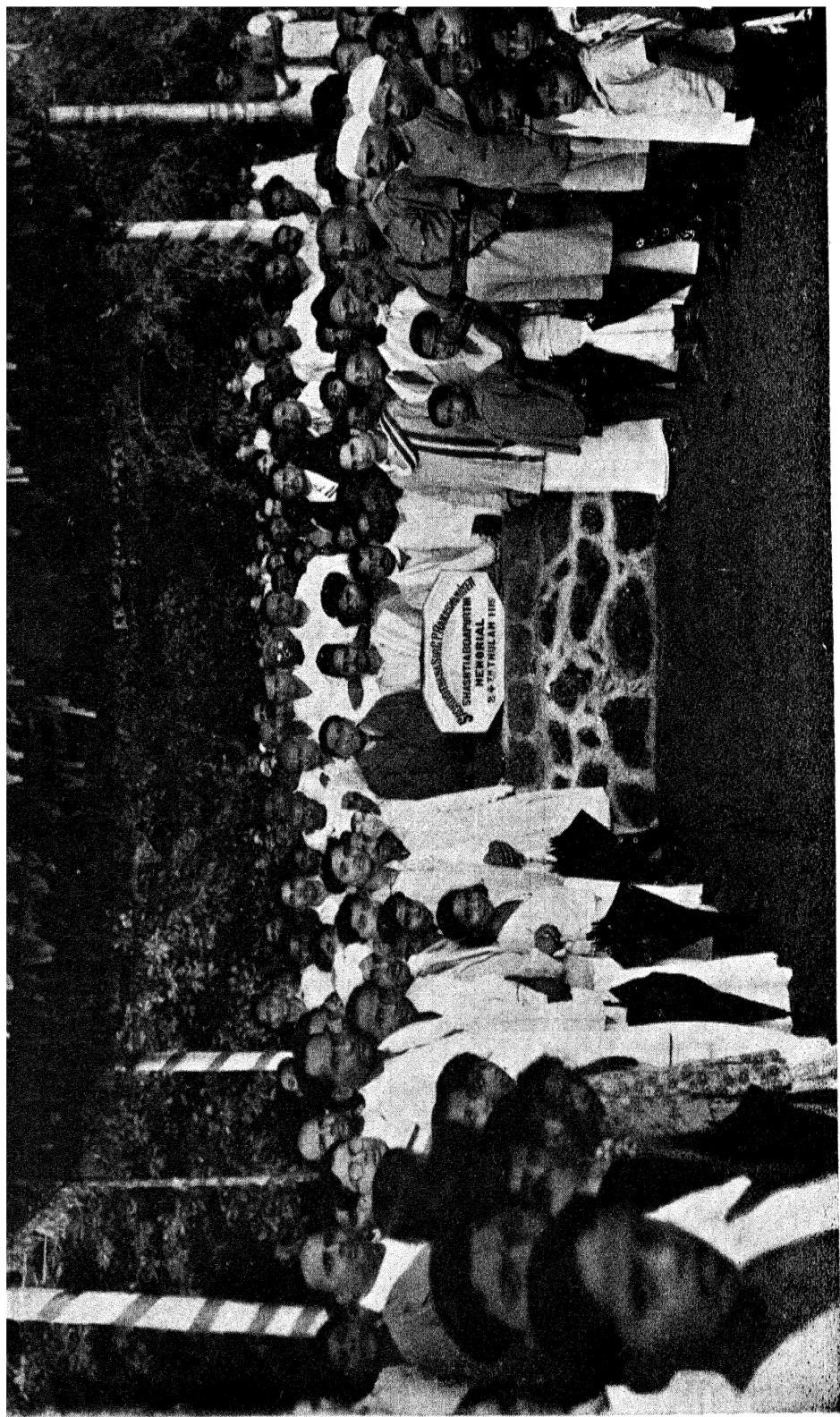
Travancore with the avowed aim of giving a fundamental re-orientation to the whole scheme of education.

The tapping of hitherto unknown resources is another aspect of Sir C. P's regime. A number of new industrial undertakings have sprung up, under State patronage and, in some cases, under State control. These are already proving themselves highly paying concerns, milestones in the industrial progress of Travancore.

Supply of cheap power and a dependable system of transport it will readily be admitted, are conditions precedent to any industrial advance. The Pallivasal scheme will provide the former in abundance and the Transport Department has already made rapid strides in the right direction.

The agriculturist, the backbone of the land and the "pride of our country" has not been forgotten. It may be reasonably hoped that cheap electricity would enable the ordinary agriculturist to adopt new and more remunerative methods of cultivation and to develop cottage industries of his own. The question of providing rational relief to the indebted agriculturist, too, is receiving the earnest attention of Government at the moment.

South Travancore in particular can never forget what he has done and is doing for them. A general remission of 20% of the *ayacut* demand in Nanjinad for which the people of Nanjinad have been agitating for the past several years, was sanctioned by him as also a very liberal provision of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs for improvement of irrigation. Liberal sums have been set apart for water supply schemes both for drinking and irrigation purposes in South Travancore. About 15 lakhs of rupees are proposed to be expended on providing dustless surfacing for the road from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin.



Laying the foundation of Pay Ward, Muvattupuzha

These, ladies and gentlemen, are but a few of the salient features of Sir C. P's administration, but enough to justify, and more than justify, the wave of spontaneous and genuine rejoicings that swept over Travancore in celebration of the *Sashtiabda purthi* of our Sachivothama.

May the stone which I shall presently lay, be the foundation of a truly noble Town Hall, worthy of the people of Thuckalay and worthy of the person whom it is intended to commemorate ! May it be an abiding source of inspiration to civic progress and development in this town !

Ladies and gentlemen, as one who has the honour to be in constant touch with Sir C. P., I believe that his greatest ambition, the one nearest to his heart and fondly cherished, is the economic renaissance and the social contentment of the people of Travancore. I believe, indeed, I know perfectly well, that he is sternly unsparing in his efforts, inflexible in his purpose, to achieve this end—striving with unceasing vigilance and superb high-mindedness, for the good and the glory of Travancore and of our Royal Master. The master-mind that conceived Temple Entry is never idle—it is ever on the alert, watching, striving. Let us try to correctly and, if you please, critically assess, with a proper sense of value, the inestimable value of his services, and when we have done that soberly, our close co-operation shall spontaneously come forth to aid with discretion and appreciate with intelligence, this man of noble purpose and high endeavour !

The following is a list of other Memorials in the various parts of the State though this is not by itself complete or exhaustive:—

1. Shertally, A Poor Home for Lepers.
2. Memorial Hall at Nirananam with a Library.
3. Town Hall with a Park and Reading Club at Attingal.
4. Haindava Mandiram at Chengannor.
5. Sachivothama Memorial Hall at Kurianad.
6. Two Lamp Posts at Vattamoothu Ferry near Nagampatam, Kottayam.
7. A Portriat at the Sachivothama Colony, Kurichi.
8. Sachivothama Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial Theatre, Kottayam.
9. Lamp Post at Adoor.
10. Town Hall at Thodupuzha.
11. Sachivothama Sir C. P. Memorial Library at Karackal, Thiruvalla.
12. Sachivothama Sashtiabdapurthi Smaraka Mandiram, Paippad, Changanacherry (by the Pulayar Sabha).
13. Maternity Ward, Nedumangad District Hospital.
14. Lamp Post at Warkalai.
15. Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial Home of Service, Trivandrum.
16. Sachivothama Sashtiabdapurthi Memorial Reading Room, Ettumanur.
17. Reading Room and Dispensary, Thiruvattar.
18. Sachivothamavilasam Reading Room, Arakulam.
19. Sachivothamavilasam Malayalam School, Kothamangalam.
20. Memorial Pillar, Kazhakuttam.



Foundation Laying of the Maternity Ward, Nelumangad District Hospital

21. Sachivothamavilasam, Library, Kattakad.
22. Sachivothama Sashtiabdapurthi Poor Home, Perumpavur.
23. Maternity Ward, Shertallay District Hospital, Shertallay
24. Pay Ward in the District Hospital, Muvattupuzha.
25. Maternity Ward, Shencotta District Hospital.
26. Reading Room, Pattanamthitta.
27. Portrait at Devikolam.
28. Football Tournament, Kottayam.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion.

Some Thrilling Incidents Narrated.

“Each day, each week, each month, each year is a new chance given you by God. A new chance, a new leaf, a new life—this is the golden, the unspeakable gift, which each new day offers you”.

This is the golden rule laid down by Dean Farrar for a virile life—a life of energy, a life of action, a life of hope. This sound dictum is best illustrated in the case of Sachivothama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar whose volume and variety of work for the day is a mystery to many—the way how he does it so successfully. Though several pages of this brochure have been devoted for the publication of different Addresses and the speeches delivered in connection therewith, they have not succeeded in explaining this mystery. They have admirably done well in recounting the valuable services he has rendered to the State and his Sovereign Master who, as the talented Sachivothama himself has publicly acknowledged, is an inspiration and an impelling force for many an inspiring idea. If one were to recall some of the incidents in the ancestral history of the Sachivothama, one will have some rough idea of the treasure, we, in Travancore, have been able to secure in the present Dewan of Travancore—a rare and remarkable combination of heredity, intellectual gifts of a high order, admirable habits of industry, exemplary methods of work and inspirational use of the opportunities given, in the

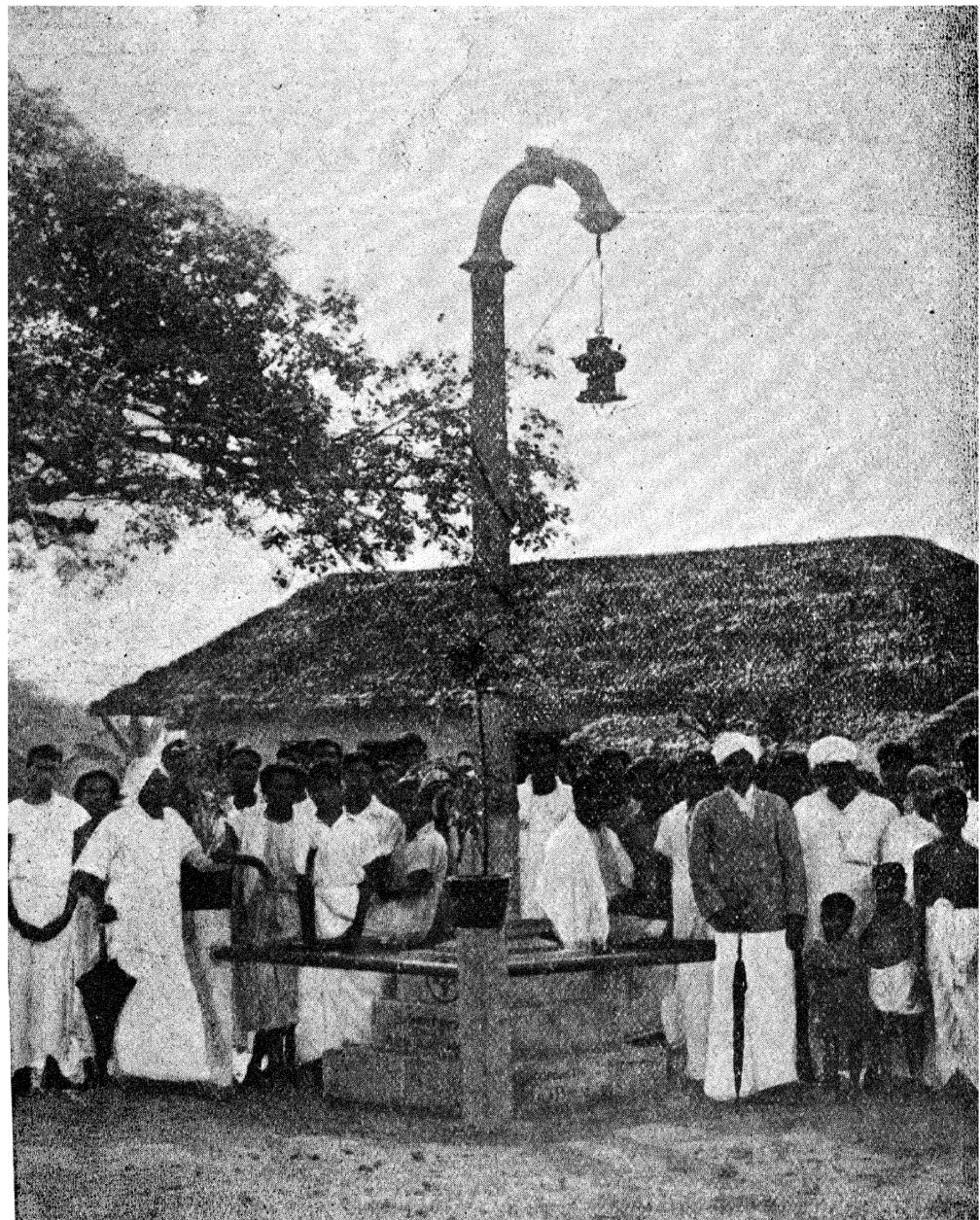
Laying the Foundation of Town Hall, Attingal.

SINGHOTHAMA SIR.CP.RAMASWAMI AYER
KCIE LL.D.
DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE
SHASHTYABDA POORTHI MEMORIAL
FOUNDATION LAID BY
SAHIBBAHADURKKMOHAMMED ABDULLA-AVI

sacred cause of the country's good. It was in the latter half of the nineties that I read in the *Madras Standard* the life-sketch of a marvellous personality—C. V. Ranganatha Sastri—a giant not only in intellectual powers but also a giant in physical make-up, an erudite scholar, a great linguist who knew as many as 20 languages—Indian as well as European—an eminent jurist and an accepted authority on Vedic lore and other Sanskrit Texts. He was the first Indian to adorn the Madras Small Causes Court as a Judge. Such a man was the grandfather of Lady Ramaswami Aiyar whose father C. V. Sundaram Sastri, the son of C. V. Ranganatha Sastri, was also an eminent advocate. In politics he was of the school of the then Indian National Congress. For, he was a leading member of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress which met in Madras in 1885 under the Presidentship of that doughty champion of India, Budrudin Tyabjee. Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, who was a High Court Judge, Madras, and C. V. Viswanatha Sastri who was an eminent District and Sessions Judge were the sons of C. V. Sundaram Sastri, the father-in-law of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's original family was in the North Arcot District, the scene of many a battle fought to establish British supremacy in South India. The family migrated to Tanjore under memorable circumstances. It is said that his paternal grandfather, Chetpet Ramaswami Aiyar, had a quarrel with the family. He was a man of remarkable achievements and attainments who combined in himself the Vedic culture of a Vasishta, the physical prowess of a Bhima and the moral strength of an Arjuna in open battle. He decided to leave the family and migrated to Tanjore where he set up his own household. He joined the Police force as an ordinary constable and, with his natural intelligence and keen grasp, soon rose to higher positions. He had a good number of cases to his credit on account of his

detective skill of a high order and became a terror to the local gangs of Kallars who have been devastating the country by their midnight robberies and decoities. In a short period he brought under control several of the leaders and had them sent to jail. He was raised to the position of a Tahsildar which was a great honour in those days. On one occasion his house was burnt and by his skill in detection and his range of local knowledge he traced the incendiaryism to a notorious dacoit leader who had been sent to jail by Ramaswami Aiyar. Soon after he was released he wreaked his vengeance by setting fire to the house of his old enemy Ramaswami Aiyar and wounding him in an encounter. The latter rose equal to the occasion. He very easily traced the crime to the right source and arrested him and had him sent to jail again. For this singular act of bravery and detection Ramaswami Aiyar was promoted as a Deputy Collector and his valiant services were placed on record by the Government of Madras in signal ways. The name of Chetpet Ramaswami is still remembered in the whole Tanjore District for his courageous and beneficent work in the suppression of those criminal gangs and giving the people personal safety and protection. His exploits are still cherished with gratitude and narrated by the village population, while the women of the Kallar tribe even today lull to sleep their weeping children by saying that, if they do not stop crying and sleep, Chetpet Ramaswami Aiyar or Tarupukal Ramaswami Aiyar (as he was often called because he wore topaz earrings) will come and take them. Need it be said then that there is in the blood of his grandson that spirit of dash and daring which killed even organised crime and brought peace and safety to the land. It used to be said that even as a lad C. P. Ramaswami, like Nelson, was in the habit of asking, "what is fear". Such is the man who today stands triumphant as an outstanding pillar of the British Empire where he has



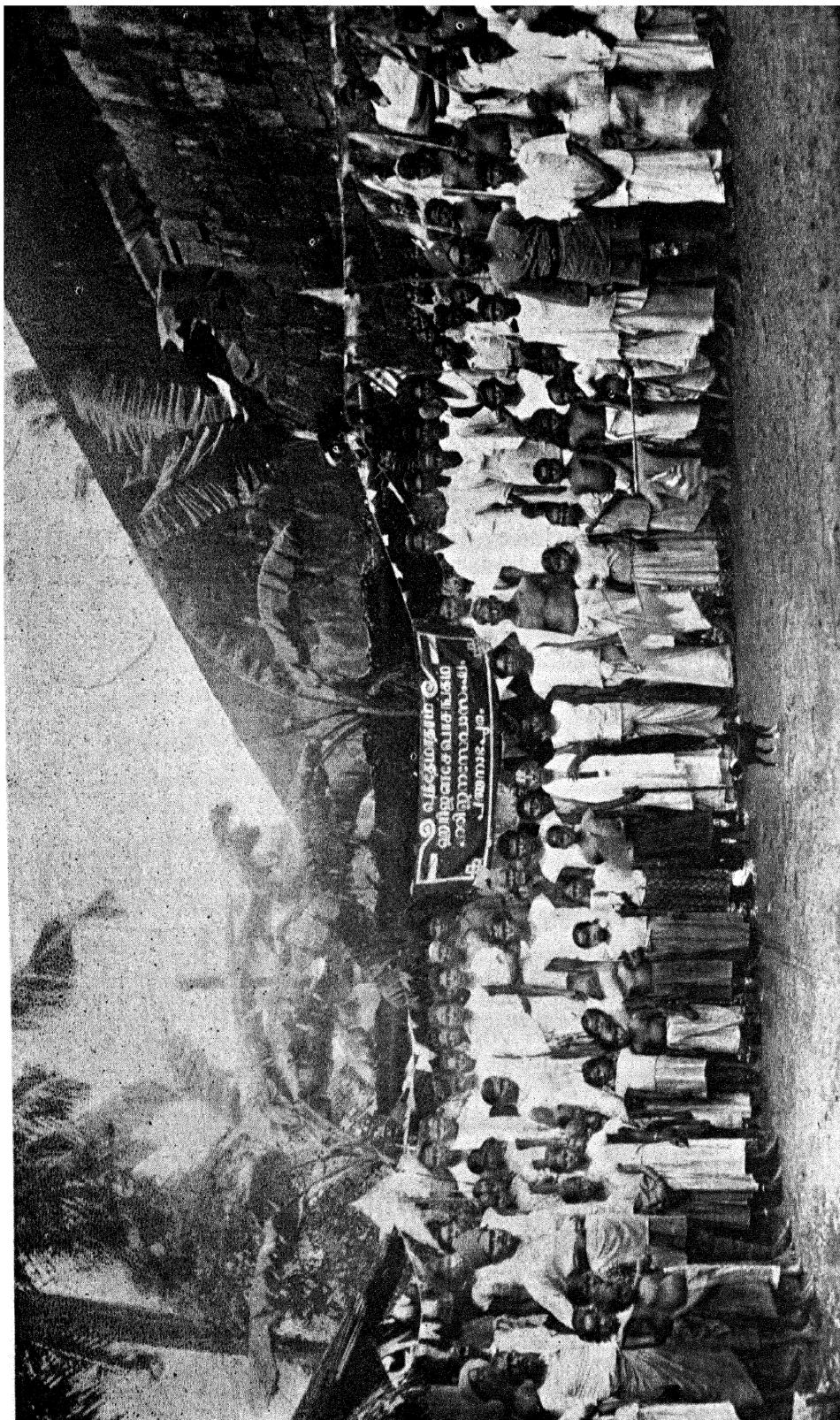
Memorial Lamp, Warkalai

fought many an intellectual and sensational fight and won. I am here tempted to quote a wonderfully true character sketch of Sir C. P. written by one who had opportunities of studying him, as he was a junior Vakil under him. This gentleman, Mr. R. N. Aiengar, Bar-at-Law, who is at present a leading member of the Madras Bar, says :—

“ An altogether brilliant personality ; handsome and debon-air ; full of vim, vigor and vitality ; overflowing with activating energy and enthusiasm as Student, Lawyer, Politician and Administrator—endowed with great natural abilities aided by indomitable courage and industry ; supremely ambitious but inspired with a lofty idealism ; Epicurean in habits, eclectic in culture, encyclopaedic in knowledge ; Sir C. P. is indeed a name to conjure with. A resplendant Knight of chivalrous times in modern garb ; ready to pick up any gauntlets thrown in his way and give battle whether in Elections or Assemblies, in the Press or on the Platform ; essentially militant, loyal to his friendships, generous to his opponents, ever ready to forgive and forget, he fights hard and fights clean. A consummate diplomat with the genius of a Field Marshall, he can organise and achieve anything and everything. The Pykara and Mettur projects in the Madras Presidency, the Pallivasal Scheme in Travancore are symbolical of the light and energy he embodies in himself and spreads to others. His association in Travancore with the epoch-making Temple Entry Proclamation, the University and the various industries he is initiating and fostering will bear ample testimony to his nation-building activities. His life has to be written with a golden pen dipped in multi-coloured ink. And what a beautiful canvas the Divinity-gifted State of Travancore provides for such writing.”

No truer or better pen picture has been written in such a small compass.

From the very start of his life, nay, even from his days as a student, his career bristles with sensational events, thrilling incidents, striking facts and wonderfully ineffaceable episodes which have arrested attention and have singled him out for a high destiny, each gaining for him a step up in the ladder of life and securing for him a larger and wider circle of admirers. It may not be known to many that he had a hard and tough fight with the Government of Madras when holding the high and responsible position of Member of Council. The differences of opinion on various matters were frequent and on many occasions he sent in his resignation of Membership which brought his opponents round and set them thinking of the angle of vision presented by the Indian Member and things were smoothed to make it possible for Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to withdraw his resignations and continue his co-operation and willing help. It was in this way that Indian views and Indian aspects of public questions were placed before Government, though on each and every occasion it was done at the risk of his position. An important question of law and a moot administrative point was pushed to the forefront for disposal and decision when Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was Advocate-General. He had to pilot the Hindu Religious Endowment Bill in the Madras Legislative Council. He found that he could not agree to the principle which meant that he should surrender his individual opinions to Government. He was not that way of thinking but insisted on expressing them at the Council during the discussion. The Government naturally could not agree. The position taken up by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was that he was not a permanent member of the public service but was only being paid a retaining fee for the work done. The controversy had to be taken



Celebration by Harijans

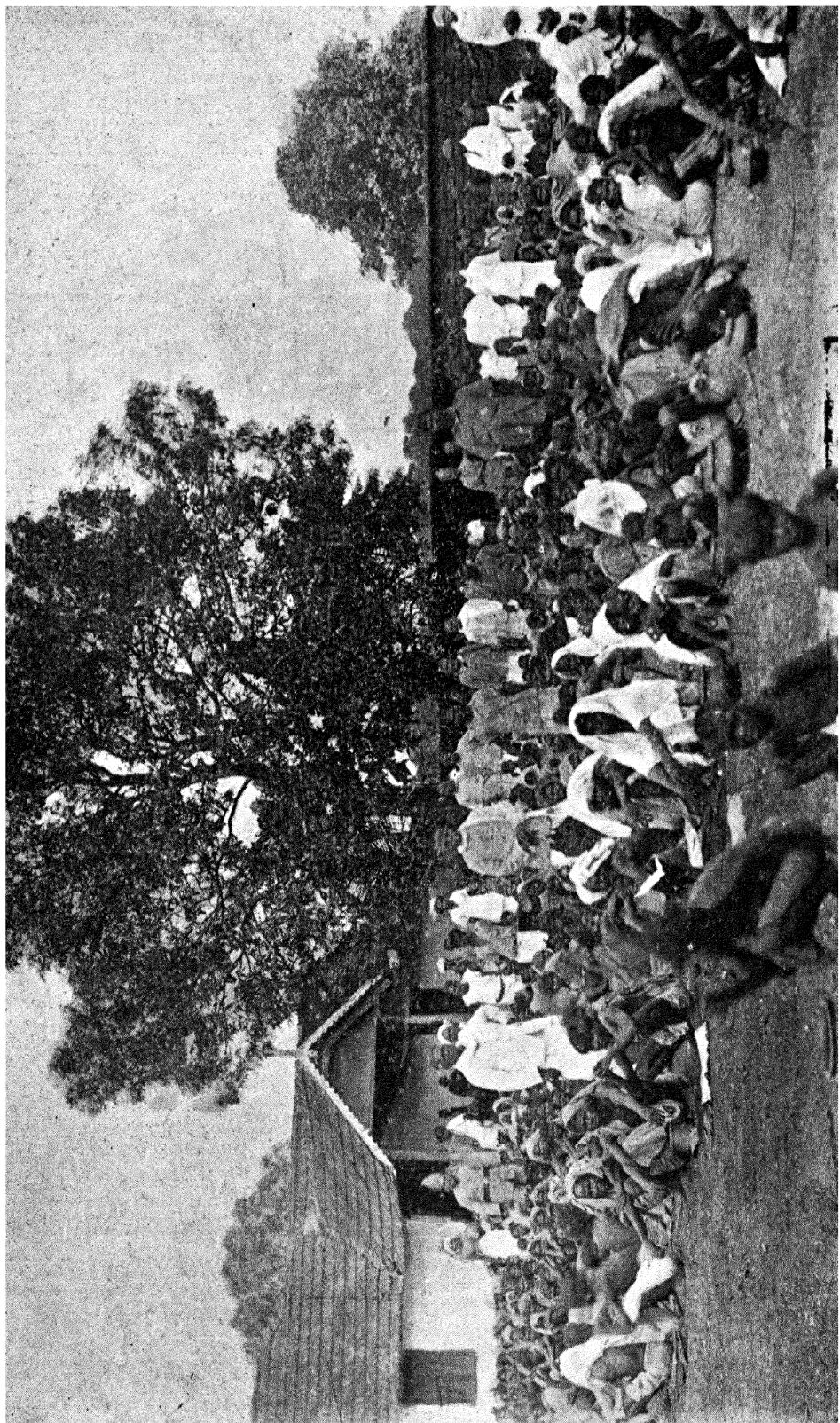
to higher quarters to secure an authoritative decision. The Attorney-General held that Sir C. P. was right. When the Bill came up before the Council, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar opposed that Government measure as Advocate-General, giving his own opinions on the Bill.

An incident which happened when he was Commerce Member in the Viceroy's Council also deserves to be mentioned. He was the instrument in levying an import duty on Japanese goods imported into India. It was a great achievement which will ever remain to his credit as the courageous act of an Indian Member in the Central Government and also as the first protective measure of tariff against Japan. When the biography of this eminent Indian comes to be written, several such acts of high statesmanship will be traced to the intrepid courage, fervid patriotism and noble national endeavour of this illustrious son of India of whom Madras, nay, India, is legitimately proud. But I am digressing.

We, in Travancore, are concerned with Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as Dewan of this State and his work done or attempted to be done. The world famous Temple Entry Proclamation has a tale behind it which deserves to be told. So early as 1902 just before Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was enrolled as a member of the High Court Bar he was touring in Malabar with his father. It was then that he was fully impressed with the problem of untouchability and unapproachability in all its aspects and the hardships and privations to which a large section of the Hindu population was subjected. As soon as he returned to Madras Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is reported to have told his circle of friends and relatives thus;—‘If ever I get the power, I will change the whole thing and see that man to man

there is no difference". He was as good as his word, in spite of the fact that three and a half decades had elapsed.

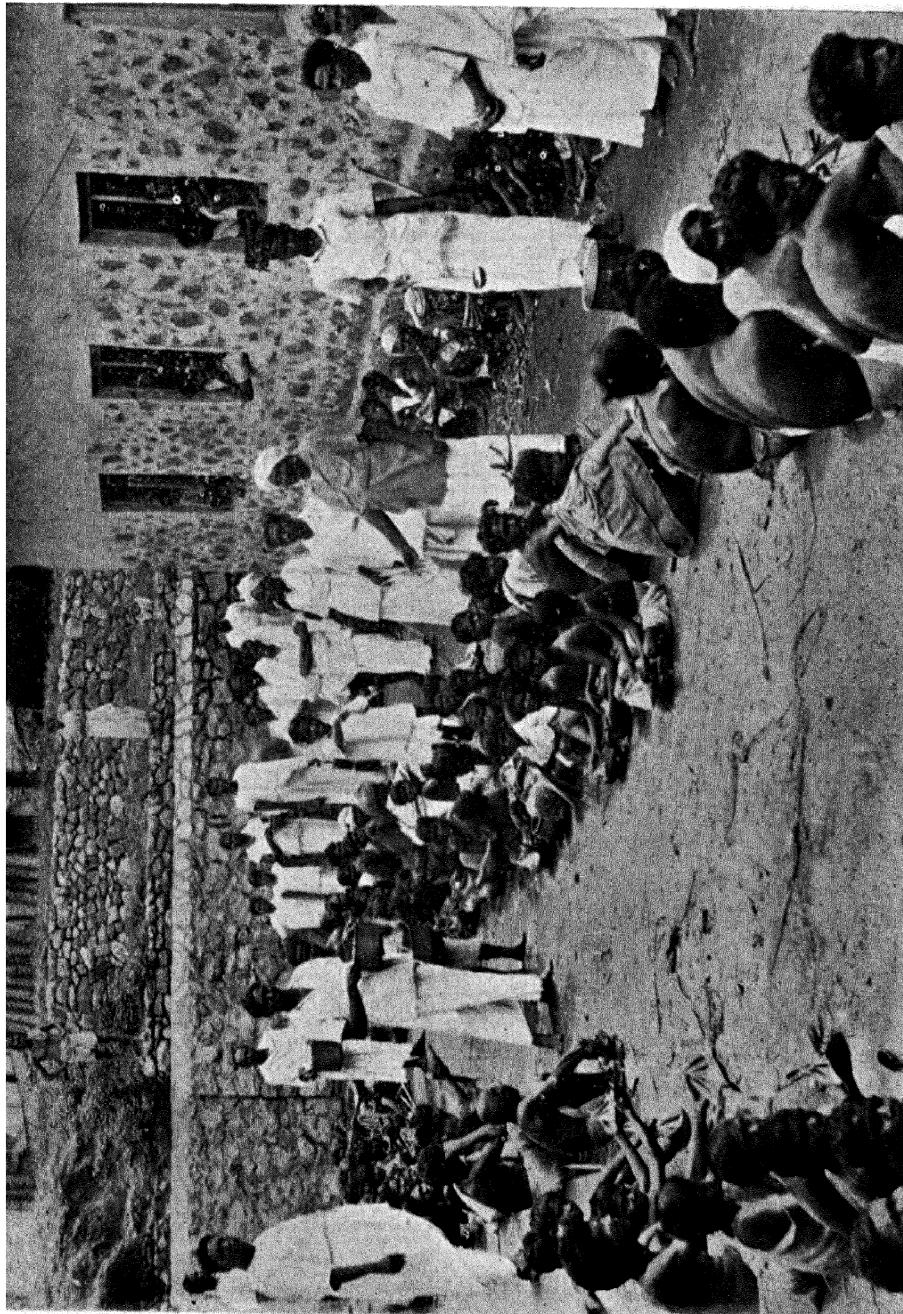
Under the present world conditions the slogan in every country is industrialisation. The Government of India are also convinced that what is wanted at present is not Military defence alone, not the increase of armaments only, not the strengthening of the Army merely, but the urgent need of the hour is economic regeneration of the country as a whole, an earnest endeavour to raise the standard of living of the average man and woman in the land, to make the people happy and prosperous, to make two blades of grass grow where one is grown at present, in fact, to make the masses not only self-sufficient but make them self-dependant in all matters of their material requirements. There can be no nobler aim or greater achievement for a statesman or administrator to strive for. It was in pursuance of this high aim, this patriotic move, that His Highness the Maharaja initiated this beneficent policy so early in his career as Ruler, and decided upon an all-round industrialisation of the country on right lines. In performing the opening ceremony of the Rubber Factory on the 17th August 1935, His Highness the Maharaja said that "the health and strength of the people, their earning capacity and their general standard of comfort form the permanent bulwark of national prosperity," ... "but the needs of a growing population demand a supplementing of our income and our resources by the encouragement of industrial pursuits, more particularly as we possess an abundant supply of raw materials and are able to command cheap labour and transport facilities, not to mention the electric power which is available in sufficient quantities and which will provide requisite working energy". Herein is contained the key-note of the industrial policy adumbrated by His Highness the Maharaja. It was at this juncture that His



Poor feeding of the Harijans at a Harijan Hostel

Highness has been lucky to secure the services of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as his Chief Minister, one after his own heart. For the information of those impatient idealists who want immediate results to flow at the waving of the magician's wand the history of other countries will serve as a useful and instructive object lesson. Mysore was the first administration in India—Indian States and British Provinces included—to generate electricity from water power. That great pioneer worker, Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar, who wielded, in the significant words of Lord Curzon, "an authority that was a reflex of his powerful character and abilities, and that left its mark on every branch of the administration" had almost insurmountable difficulties to encounter in carrying out his pet scheme of the Sivasamudram Falls. The opposition even from the so-called experts was powerful and their opinions were greatly disheartening. But that great man was adamant. It is said that he himself worked out certain mathematical and engineering data and ordered the initiation of the scheme with his indomitable courage and strong sense of optimism. Thus he won. A noteworthy feature of that scheme was that Electricity began to flow almost coeval with the commencement of the glorious reign of His Highness the present Maharaja of Mysore. History has repeated itself in Travancore with this important difference that the pioneer worker in Travancore had, in addition to being "an authority that was a reflex of his powerful character and abilities" (to repeat the words of Lord Curzon) had the rich experience of similar schemes elsewhere which were guided by him and have been declared a great success by competent and impartial official authorities. Several high authorities—official and non-official—had praised Travancore for her potentialities in the richness of her raw materials and in the wealth of her river systems for hydro-electric power. As early as in 1918 the then Chief Engineer of the State,

Poor feeding on the *Sashthiabapurthi Day* in a Mofussil Station

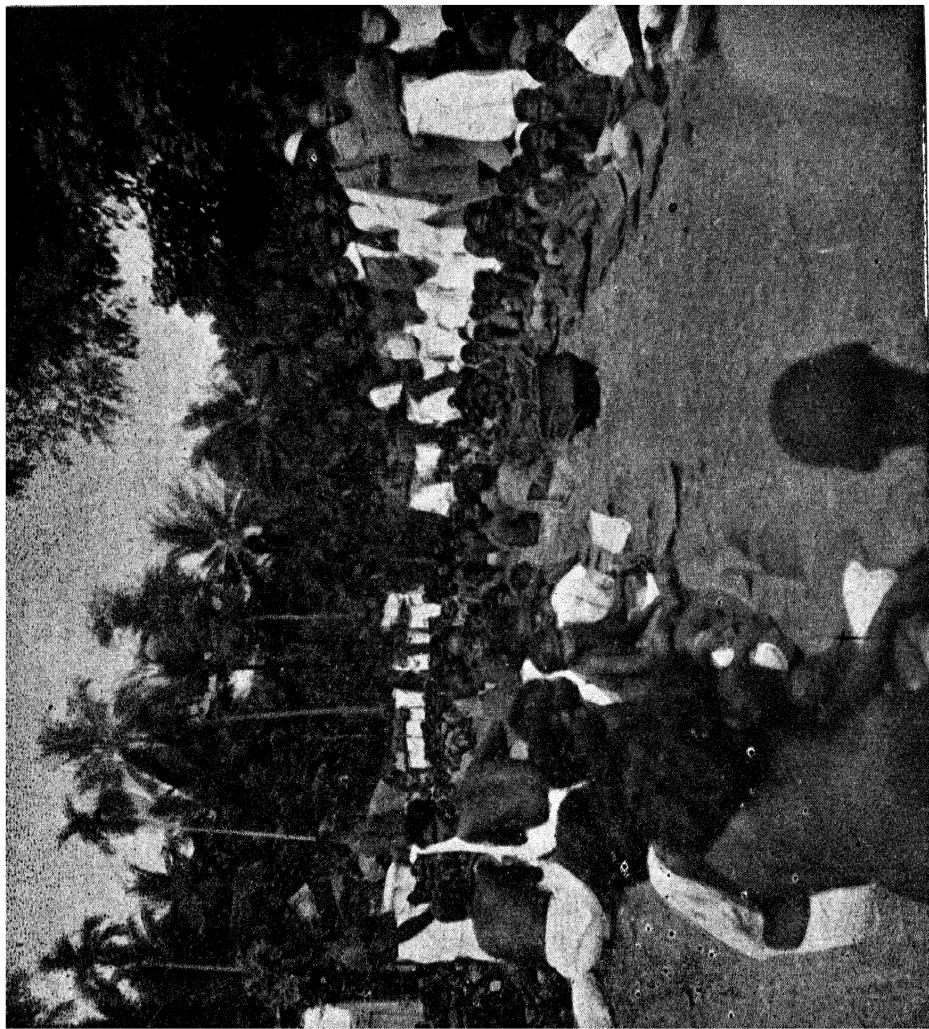


memorial which, like the proverbial Indian banyan tree, gives shelter to thousands and sends roots and branches only to grow again and fructify and shed prosperity and happiness all round.

In bringing these desultory observations to a close I cannot help avoiding a personal note. It would now seem as clear as day light that the hard and varied training Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar had as an administrator, the wide-awake experience he has gained as an outstanding figure and a pillar of strength in the British Empire, the magnificent opportunities given him for the display of his courageous statesmanship and the wonderful resources he had to initiate bold schemes of public utility and the broad outlook in life which opened out for him—all these seem to have been intended to prepare him for the Dewanship of Travancore in a way no other Dewan had been. Another circumstance which influenced his life in relation to Travancore was his family relationship. His earliest relative in the Travancore service was Mr. Justice A. Sitarama Aiyar, who was an eminent Judge of the Travancore High Court. He was one of the highlights in the Tinnevelly Bar and came in personal contact with His Highness the penultimate Maharaja of Travancore, Visakam Thirunal, during one of the tours of the latter in South India and was selected for the office of a District and Sessions Judge. He then rose to the position of a Judge of the High Court. It was his beautiful residence at Kaudiyar that has become now the magnificent Palace of His Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal. The next member of his family that came to Travancore was the late Professor K. Sundararama Aiyar, a distinguished Educationist and an eminent Professor in the Kumbakonam College, who was selected by the Government for the responsible post of Tutor to His Highness Prince Aswathi Thirunal B. A., the first Graduate not only in the Royal House of Travancore

but among the Royal Houses in Indian States. His service was not confined to the Prince but was extended to the peasant as well. For, he became an idol among the student population and the youth of the land by the profundity of his knowledge, his versatile culture, his exemplary character, pleasant ways and his readiness to help students. Several literary Clubs and Associations in Trivandrum vastly benefited by his high class lectures. His third relation was Rao Bahadur R. Kuppuramaswami Sastrial B. A., B. L., who, as, Private Secretary to two Dewans, Sir P. Rajagopalachariar and Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah C. S. I. was the power behind the Dewanate. His unobstructive ways, his firm decision and disinterested work are still remembered by those who had occasion to come into personal contact with him. The later link in this chain was afforded by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer himself. Though he had not reached even the commencement of what is commonly called middle age and was not yet at the top of the Bar, he was briefed by Travancore—the first Indian State to engage his services—in cases of a sensational character in which were involved issues of political and administrative importance to the State, such as those which arose from the Ashe murder case and the Ramakrishna Pillai deportation known as the "Indian Patriot" case. The manner in which he extricated the State and its good name is well known. His next debut was equally memorable. The high wave of tumultuous waters in a tempestuous sea was beating against the rock of Travancore and threatening its long established and firmly rooted position as a Hindu State. On account of certain adventitious circumstances which arose, certain sections of the State subjects were not being employed in the Land Revenue Department in which was merged the management of the Hindu temples in the State. It was then decided as a matter of State policy that the Devaswom (Temple) should be separated from the

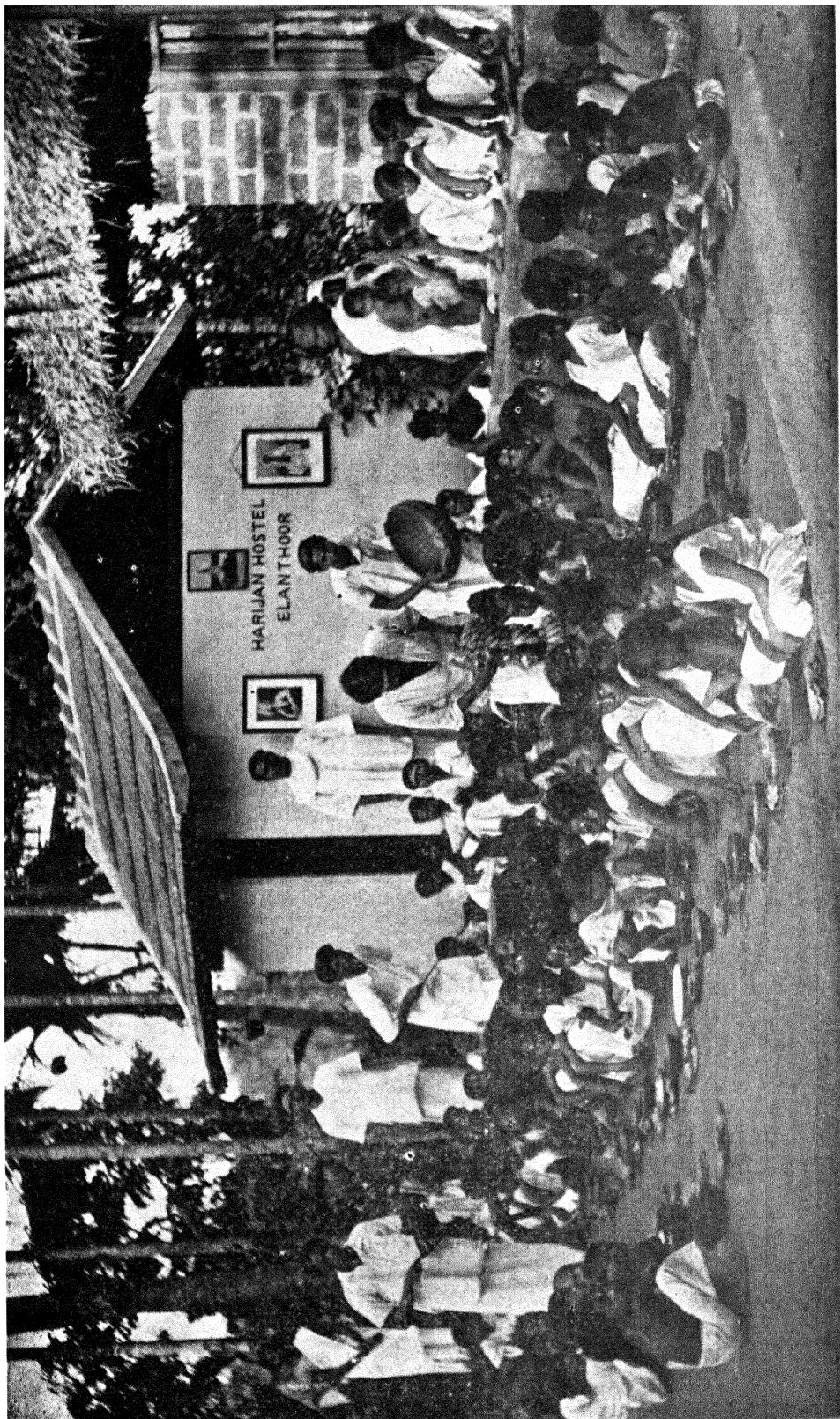
Poor feeding in a Mofussil Station on the "Sashthiabda purthi" Day



administration of the Land Revenue. These Devaswoms together with the landed and other properties belonging to them had been taken up by Government for management during the Dewanship of Col. Munro, the Resident and Dewan. The legal position of these Devaswoms arose for decision—whether they were confiscated by the State and as such were absolute owners or whether the Government were only a Trustee. The point was referred by the Dewan to Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for advice and the separation of Devaswoms and the provision made for them were settled as a result of his advice. It was during the Dewanship of this master-mind who had already obtained such a close and unrivalled knowledge of the Devaswom Department in the State that the Temple Entry Proclamation was issued. Such is the man whom Travancore is fortunate to have as its Chief Minister today. This being the established record of achievements for Travancore of the Sachivothama and of his family relationship with the State, is it any wonder, then, that such an eminent “son of the soil” as Rao Bahadur Rajyasevanirata Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai who as Chief Secretary was so closely associated with him has said that “he (Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar) has unreservedly cast his lot with us Travancoreans. He has so completely identified himself with us that we cannot regard him as any other than a true and patriotic Travancorean. In his loyalty and devotion to His Highness the Maharaja none of us can excel him, in his desire to develop the natural resources of the country and increase the national prosperity of the people none of us can equal him, and in his determination to rise the position and status of our country and put it in its proper place on the map of India, nay, of the world, none of us can take his place”.

His work as Dewan has already won public appreciation. The wish of all classes and communities, irrespective of caste

or religion, is, in the apt words of Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, that Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar may have "the full Vedic length of days, a hundred autumns, many more years of active public service and a period of rest from which he can look back with satisfaction on a long life of labour well done".



Poor Feeding of Harijans

POSTSCRIPT.

Addresses from The Karamanai Samudayam, Etc.

On Saturday the 24th February, 1940, the members of Karamanai Samudayam, Sri Mula Rama Varma Association, Karamanai, and the members of the Chitrodaya Parishad, Trivandrum, presented Addresses at Bhaktivilas. The Karamanai Samudayam Address was read by Mr. K. Shankarasubba Iyer, B. A., B. L. (High Court Judge), President of the Samudayam. It was in these terms :—

अथि भोः सचिवोत्तमा:

श्रीमद्भज्जिमहिमण्डलाखण्डलस्य श्रीचित्रोदयमहाराजस्य महनीयं मन्त्रपदमधितिष्ठत् । निरतिशयथशः कुसुमैः सुरभीकृताखिलाशावकाशानां विश्वविष्यातसुगृहीतनाश्चामत्रभवतां परम् । द्वपूर्त्तिमहामहाघोषणाय लब्धावसरा एतद्ग्रामवासिनो वयमतितरां धन्याः संवृत्ताः स्मः । भागधेयं चेदमस्मभ्यं कृपया वितीर्णवति भगवति सारसनामे वयमतीव कृतज्ञाश्च भवामः । कतिपयर्थेभ्यः पूर्वमस्मद्ग्रामजीवातुभूतेषु महितप्रभावत्सु सुगृहीतनामसु श्रीशङ्करसुब्बार्थेषु बज्जिरांयामान्यपदमधितिष्ठस्वेव तेषां पष्ठिपूर्युत्सवं महतानन्देनाश्चसितुं प्रथमं सर्गासभागधेया वयमधुनात्रभवता भेव सचिवप्रवराणां द्वितीयं पष्ठिपूर्युत्सवाभिनन्दनमहाभाग्यमनुभवाम इत्यहो सुकृतातिरेकपरिपाकोऽस्माकम् । अस्मदधिष्ठानदेवताया भगवतः सत्यवागीश्वरापराभिश्चानस्य साक्षाद्विरिजाकान्तस्य दिव्यदर्शनेनात्मानं परिपावनं कृतवतोर्द्वयोरेमात्यथुरन्धरयं रत्रभवानद्वितीयोऽपि द्वितीय इत्यथं पारमार्थिको विषय आबालवृद्धं जनानामस्माकं न कदापि विस्मृतिपथमधिरोद्धमहेति ।

अथि सहदया: सकलकलावल्लभाः

यदैकस्थां महत्यां दुर्घटसन्धौ सम्पतिताः समस्ता लोका वर्तमानभाविप्रत्ययाभावात् प्रक्रियान्धाः परिभ्रमन्ति, तदा तस्यां कालप्रकृतौ पार्थसारथेः सञ्चाहैर्देयमन्दहसितैर्गाम्भीर्यैश्च भरणरथं मयतस्तत्रभवतो धाचस्पतिप्रभावानामात्यानुपलभमाना वयमतीव धन्याः सञ्चाताः । अस्याः प्रकृतिरमणीयाया वज्जिवसुन्धराया अभ्युञ्जितिं समस्तप्रजामण्डलस्य हितानुगुणांश्चानवरतं कामयमानैस्तत्रभवद्विर्लधीयसि निजभरणपर्याये समुत्पादितैः, राज्येऽस्मिन् विश्वव्यालयस्थापनं, देशीयव्यवसायश्रेत्साहनं, विदूरसंभाषणयन्नप्रवर्तनं, विद्युच्छक्तिप्रसारणमित्येव-

मादिभिर्बहुप्रकारैः परिष्कारैर्वेच्चिमहिलायाः शोभना भाविजन्मपत्रिका सुवर्णाश्वरैर्यत्सत्यमुद्दक-
नीयैव स्यात् ।

अयि भो आर्यो दृढचित्ताः

अद्वितीयराष्ट्रीयचिन्तकाः सुदृढराज्यतन्त्रकुशलाः प्रशस्ताभिभाषकाग्रेसरा अक्षय-
विद्याभ्यासविचक्षणाः तमस्तभरणतन्त्रमीमांसापारंगता, अच्छलनियमोपदेष्टारः, भारतीयेषु मह-
त्स्वग्रगणनीयाः संस्कृतमानसाः, श्रेत्रियोत्तमा, धीरान्तरदृग्गा इत्येवमादीनामन्यसामान्यानां
विशिष्टानां विस्तुवलीनामेकं भाजनं श्रीमन्त एवेति न केवलं भारतं द्वीपान्तराण्यपि सानन्द-
पुलकमनुदिनं शंसन्ति स्मरन्त्येव वर्तेत्रश्चित्यस्मिन् विषये नात्युक्तिलेशोऽपि ।

मान्याः दीर्घयुपमन्तो दयालवः

बहोः कालात्प्रभृत्येव सर्वेऽपि वज्ञिवसुन्धरापुरन्दरा मन्त्रिणश्च भगवति श्रीसत्य-
वामीश्वरे निर्मलां भक्तिं श्रद्धां च त्रिकरणैः प्रदर्शयन्तः, एतद्यामवास्तव्येतु विना पक्षभेदं कृपा-
स्तेहवहुमानात्मिकां दृष्टि सन्ततं सम्पातयन्तश्च यथा व्यराजन्त तथैवास्त्रचित्ततावतारमहाराजा-
स्तसचिवास्तत्रभवन्तश्चोपर्युपरिविराजन्ताम् । पुनः पुनरेवंविधासु विधासु विशिष्टसरणिष्वा-
त्यनो निष्कलद्वकोद्गर्वां कीर्तिपताकां धीरधीरमुक्तमयन्तस्तत्रभवन्तो नीरोगदृग्गात्राः चिरंजीविनो
विजयिनश्च भूयासुः, तथा तृतीयं शताभिषेकमहोत्पवाभिनन्दनमध्येवमेवात्र समुद्दोषयितुमस्माकं
भाग्यमपि भूयादिति च वयमर्थयामः सभक्तिविनयादरं भगवन्तं मृत्युञ्जयं श्रीसत्यवामीश्वर-
स्वामिनम् ।

नानारम्यार्थयोगात् समुदितसुचिरालङ्कृतिप्रौढमूर्ते !

मायुरौजःप्रसादाद्यस्तिलगुणगोदारवृत्त्युज्वलामन् ।

सर्वानन्दप्रदायिन् ! प्रसरतु भुवि सौवर्णभावक्षग्धर ! श्री-

पुण्यश्लोक ! प्रशस्तः क्षितिविवृथवरशास्यकीर्तिध्वनिरते ॥

प्रजासुखं स्वस्य सुखं विभाव्य प्रवर्तमानः क्षितिपस्तु रामः ।

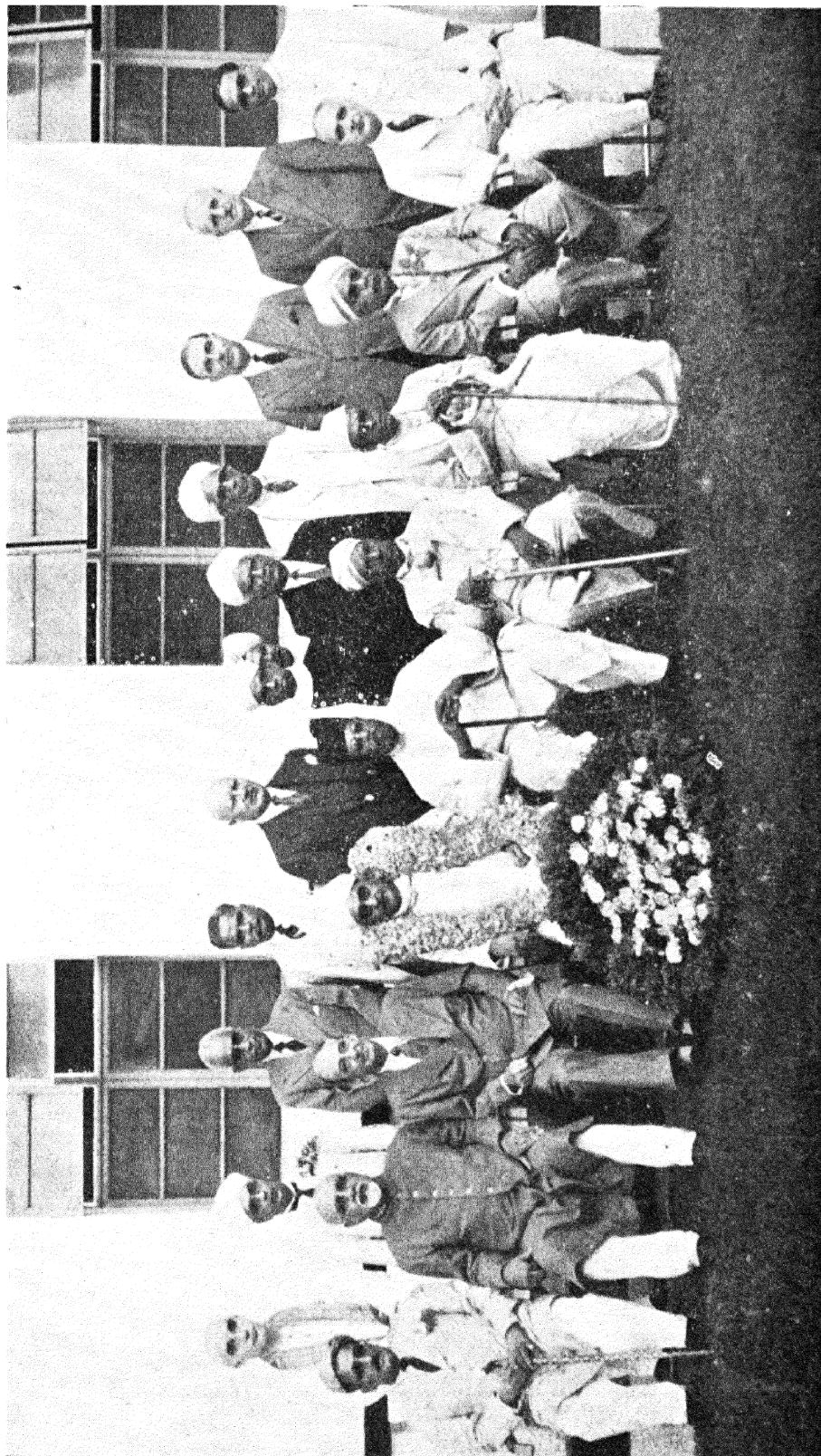
राज्यस्य राज्यश्च हितैकदीक्षः प्राज्ञो भवान् कर्मपदुः सुमन्त्रः ॥

इतः परं किं वयमीहमाना भवाम नो जन्म कृतार्थमासीत् ।

स्वाराज्यलक्ष्मीर्लसताद्वर्दित्यां “लोकाः समस्ताः सुखिनो भवन्तु ॥”

The S. M. R. V. Association.

The Sri Mula Rama Varma Association Address was read by Mr. J. Srinivasa Aiyar, B. A. (Assistant Professor of Botany, Science College), the Vice-President of the Association. It ran thus:—



The Dewan received in Madras on arrival after celebrating his *Sasthraladapthy*

Esteemed Sir,

When the whole of Travancore is in accord and in unison, felicitating you on your *Sashtiabdapurthi*, we, the President and members of the Sri Mula Rama Varma Association, Karamanai, also feel it our duty to pay this humble homage of tribute, on this happy and auspicious occasion.

It is a matter of genuine gratification and pleasure to the residents of this ancient village that they have been afforded the opportunity of partaking in the celebration of the *Sashtiabdapurthi* of a Dewan of the State, a second time, the first having been that of the late Mr. Shungrasoobyer, C. I. E., one of our villagers. We are also proud that this celebration is again connected with one whose first visit to Travancore was to our own village years ago.

Those who have had the opportunity of watching your career ever since you passed out of the College, have never failed to be impressed with your great qualities of head and heart, having been endowed with a mighty intellect. Having had the inestimable advantage of a careful and disciplined training under a talented and highly cultured father and having had the immense benefit, during the impressionable years of your life, of coming into close contact with some of the mighty intellects in Southern India, you became amply qualified, when you finished your education, to make your mark in life. Your career has been not only remarkable and second to that of no one in the whole of India, but has been throughout conceived and consummated for the good of the country. The public services to your credit are incalculable. Whether as a member of the Madras Corporation, or as a Fellow of the Madras University, or as a member of the Madras Legislative Council or as the Delegate of India at the League of Nations, or at the World Economic Conference, you

never failed to make your impression on those bodies and make your own invaluable contribution for the well-being of the country. Your sterling work and character did not fail to attract the notice of the Secretary of State for India, and you had the privilege of being conferred a seat in the Executive Council of Fort St. George. Many as have been your achievements in that capacity, posterity will never forget your bold and venturesome schemes of the Mettur and Pykara Projects, which would never have been accomplished but for your initiation and endeavour. Your achievements as a politician, statesman and constitutional lawyer have been no less remarkable. The manner in which you championed the cause of India, first in the joint Parliamentary Committee and later, in the first Round Table Conference, affords ample proof of your liberal sympathies and breadth of political vision. It is, therefore, no wonder that all the Indian States were in need of your advice and assistance in placing their points of view before the British Parliament. Every political act of yours, as a non-official or an official, was ever inspired by the lofty aim of making India play its legitimate part as a respected partner of the great British Commonwealth.

You have been always a friend of Travancore. We are aware how even during the reign of the late Sri Mulam Thirunal of revered memory, you never stinted your advice and services, at times when they were requisitioned.

Ever since our gracious Maharaja appointed you, first as Legal and Constitutional Adviser and then, as the Dewan of the State, you have been actuated only by two ideals, one, of steadfast devotion and loyalty to the person of the Ruler and his Royal House, and the other of dedicating whole-heartedly all your talents for the economic, material, moral and social well-being of the people of Travancore, without distinction of caste

or creed. You have been only 3 years with us as Dewan but the achievements to your credit are already numerous. Consolidating the people of Travancore by implementing the Temple Entry Proclamation conceived and inspired by His Highness the Maharaja and His Highness' august mother, launching the country on an industrial programme with special regard to cottage industries, making available cheap power by inaugurating the Pallivasal scheme, you are, by the establishment of the Travancore University, attempting not only to solve the problem of educated unemployment, which confronts not this country alone but also the whole world but to make education subserve the interests of those to whom it is imparted and thereby, of the country at large.

You are an ardent supporter of constituted authority and order. It is a matter for gratification that you, with your indomitable courage, have set your face against subversive methods in the country. It is a matter for still more gratification that, in this high purpose, the various communities in the country and the leaders in them are giving you their hearty co-operation.

Your charming manners, easy accessibility, unruffled temper and above all, that largeness of heart which enables you to appreciate and sympathise with all view-points, have won the esteem and regard of all those who have had the privilege of coming into contact with you. Though you have completed 60 years of age and though the life you have led till now has been as strenuous as it has been fruitful, literally scorning delights and living laborious days, you are still endowed with dynamic energy, buoyant optimism and unimpaired intellect. On this happy occasion of your *Sashtiabdapurthi*, we join in the chorus of prayer that goes forth to the Almighty God from the hearts of all the loyal and law-abiding citizens of Travancore

that you may be long spared with undiminished powers of mind and body in order that you may continue to serve His Highness the Maharaja and the people of the State, bringing lustre and fame to His Gracious Highness and this ancient land and to play a greater part than what you have been destined to play till now, in the Newer India to come.

Assuring you, Sir, of our humble devotion to His Highness the Maharaja and our respectful regard and esteem for you.

The Chitrodaya Parishad.

The members of the Chitrodaya Parishad then presented their Address. It was read by Mr. V. Sankara Aiyar, M. A., L. T., (Senior Sanskrit Lecturer, Arts, College) a member of the Executive Committee of the Parishad. The following is the full-text of the Address :—

अयि भोः निखिलविद्यापारङ्गताः सकल्लोकसंस्तूयमानापदानाः श्रीवच्चिवासिजनसन्तोषगैकतानाः धिषणसमानमहनीयधिषणाः श्रीचैत्रावनीन्द्रामाध्यसत्तमाः,

भवदोयानुभावमेव जीवातुमनवरतमवलम्बमानया भावत्कभावुकमविकलमनुवेलमखिलकरणैरमलभक्तिप्रणामपुरस्सरं श्रीपद्माभमभ्यर्थयन्त्यानया परिपदा समधिककुतुकादरभरितया समर्थमाणमिमं मङ्गलोपहारमङ्गलीकुर्वन्तु दयया श्रीमन्तस्त्रभवन्तो महान्तः ।

अयि महोन्नतमहामहिमशालिनो मन्त्रिपुङ्गवाः ! समुत्तमे परिपावने चोदितोदितेत्वये जननम्, माननीयं सकलोपमेयभूतं च विद्याभ्यसनम्, अनितरताधारणमशेषजननतोषं प्राच्याप्राच्यसाहितीपरिभूषितबहुमुखविज्ञानस्यदां वाचामाभाषणैपुण्यम्, निरवधिकगुणाधायिकानां नवानां राज्यभग्णपरिपाठीनां साक्षात्करणम्, कुशाग्रधिष्ठैकसाधनीयानां गभीरधीरञ्जनीयानामतिगरियसां सुतरां सुदुर्धटानामपि साम्राज्यघटकानां कार्याणां ज्ञातिति घटनायामभिनन्दनीयं सामर्थ्यम्, अनवरतमिनसद्वशमविगणितविश्रान्तिं विश्रुतपरिश्रमसमाश्रयणम्, कल्याणस्यगुदयादभुतकामधेनोः श्रीवच्चिभूमीन्द्रस्यारमन्महाराजबालरामवर्मपरमभट्टारकस्य प्रख्यातं मन्त्रिमुख्यपदमा. साच्च धरणितलमुदितशुभमापाद्य सत्वरमुदित्वरमनारतमपि हितमतिकुतुकसमुपचितफलकलितमाकहप्य चित्रावतारं धरित्रीमहेन्द्रं च रात्रिनिदिवं जागरूकेण यतनेन सान्द्रप्रभावं कृपाया निवासं

सभक्ष्यादरं साधु संसेव्य लक्ष्मा प्रकृष्टं परेज्ञातु लभेतरं तत् 'सचिवोन्नमे'तीह मान्याभिधानं प्रभूषायमाणं समोदयुष्यमाणम्, कलाकौशलं तच्च विशुद्धताप्रमुखं परम्, नियमनिर्माण-हर्म्यस्य कर्मातिमान्यम्, मुदा श्रोतुमाकाशवाणीं स्वतन्त्रं सुयन्त्रस्य तन्त्रे कृतं संविधानम्—एतादृशानामहो मन्त्रवर्याः प्रभूतप्रभानां महिष्मां निवासाः श्रीमन्तस्तत्रभवन्तः षष्ठी पूर्यानिथा चित्रया युक्तः सकलकलामण्डितमण्डलो राजेव समस्तजनहृदयाह्लादकराः शारदां कामप्यभिख्यां पुण्णन्तः सुतरां विराजन्ते ।

नैसर्गिक्या प्रतिभया, अभेद्या कृत्यनिष्ठया, अप्रतिहतप्रसरया परिणतप्रज्ञया, सुवासितया भरणनिपुणतया, उत्तरोत्तरं वर्धमानया आयुरारोग्यैश्चर्यादिसम्पत्या च भूयो भूयः शुभानां बहुनां तत्रभवन्तो निवासा भवन्तो विलसन्तुतमामिति परं भुवनवन्दितचरणं कमलनामं प्रार्थयामः ॥

Dewan's Reply.

The Dewan gave the following joint reply :—

Citizens of Karamani, President and Members of the Sri Mula Rama Varma Association, Karamanai, Members of the Chitrodaya Parishad, and Friends :—

It used to be said of a well-known man that he arranged to have two birthdays in a year because on each birthday he used to receive some presents (*Laughter*) from some of his affectionate and appreciative relations and friends. The story is that he adopted the English birthday for the purpose of indicating to some of his friends the day when he was born and the Indian birthday according to our calender, for the benefit of others so that he had, each year, two birthdays. He managed to have two celebrations and two sets of presents. I am reminded of that by what has been happening this evening. One would have thought that some months ago the fact that I have dared to live for sixty years (*Laughter*) would have been sufficiently chronicled so that there was no particular occasion for reminding oneself of that adventure over and over again. But, in reality it must be said that, where my old apprentice and friend, Mr. Sankarasubbier, is concerned,

I have been always rather weak and when he is importunate, as he is apt to be, his pertinacity is successful. He, I am afraid, overbore my first impulse to be content with one set of celebrations and not to have an *en core*, and, as the result of importunity of my friend, you have all called an *en core*. The offence, if offence it be, is thus not wholly mine.

But all this jesting, apart, I am really and sincerely grateful to all of you who have combined together for the purpose of meeting me this evening and honouring me both rhetorically and substantially, as you have done today. It is rather curious that in many ways I owe, although I do not belong to Travancore by birth or by education, a great deal to Travancore and not a little to Malabar. Three of the most powerful influences in my life, with the exception of that of my revered father, were Dewan Bahadur A. Ramachandra Aiyar, who was Chief Justice of Travancore High Court for some time and then became Chief Justice of the Mysore Chief Court and afterwards retired and was instrumental in founding the temple and the settlement at Kaladi and who became one of the intensest devotees of the great Narasimha Swami Jagadguru of Sringeri, Mr. Sankarasubbier C. I. E. and Sir K. Seshadri Iyer—these were the three most formative influences in my early life. I used to meet them as a little boy in company with my father in “Bhavani House” in Ootacamund, the official residence of the Dewans of Mysore, and it was in those days that I had the opportunity of listening to conversations which were in advance of what I could wholly comprehend but which gave a shape to my thoughts and ambitions. They took a delight in fighting hard and the reconciling influence was my revered friend Mr. Ramachandra Aiyer. It was those three persons that were the idols of my youth and if I have done anything in the region of administration, the result is due, to a large extent, to my desire faithfully to copy the example and follow

the footsteps of one whom I have considered the greatest statesman that modern India has produced, namely, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer.

Now, there is another connection with Travancore and it may not be known to many of you. The present Kaudiyar Palace is built on a site which belonged to a relation of mine, Mr. Justice A. Seetharama Iyer who was my grandfather's sister's son and was a Judge of the Travancore High Court. The premises were purchased and now form part of the Kaudiyar Palace. In many ways, therefore, I have known something of Travancore from very early days and, as the Addresses themselves point out, I have afterwards been in touch with the State. But, before I go further, I must refer to the very significant part that Mr. Sankarasubbier played in my life. He was good enough to think that I read English poetry distinctly and well and, whenever he met me, either in Bangalore or in Mysore or in Ootacamund or during my stay with him in Travancore, he used never to let me go to bed before 11'o clock at night and insisted on my reading selected passages of English poetry. He also used to read to me. I do not know whether Justice Sankarasubbier preserves his books; he was a self-taught man and I do not think that he ever took a degree or got very far in what may be called scholastic career. But starting from absolutely no academic background, he taught himself and I have yet to come across a man whose reading was more discriminate or more profound or who brought himself abreast of the intellectual ferment of Europe or with what was written by the best authors in Europe thoroughly and adequately than Mr. Sankarasubbier. It was always a delight to be with him and it was during my F. A. or B. A. course that I came into close contact with him. He had another good fortune in that his son-in-law Mr. Rama Iyer was a very great student of literature and Mr. Sankarasubbier used to examine us and set us disputing *inter se.*

Now, you have in your various Addresses referred with a fulness and a rhetorical elaboration, which I deprecate, to various things which I have done here and elsewhere. Now, it appears to me that this is neither the place nor the occasion where I should refer to what, on account of the unwavering support given to me by some of my friends and chiefs like Lord Willingdon and Lord Goschen, I have been able to do in British India. But so far as Travancore is concerned, I have regarded it always as one of the greatest privileges of my life to have been enabled to come here and serve His Highness. The more one comes into contact with His Highness and the members of his family, the more one realises how singular and unique they are in all royal qualities and, what is not quite so common in qualities which are of a more human and home-like character. Their tact, sympathy and willingness to enter into other people's difficulties and make allowances for mistakes are such that it is a real joy to work for them. Moreover, there is no gainsaying the fact that there is hardly any spot in India where, given co-operation, given one-pointed endeavour and communal harmony, more can be achieved than in Travancore. Nature has been kind to Travancore in the vegetable kingdom, the animal kingdom and the human kingdom. If a critic were disposed to be censorious, he would say that the only trouble is that the people of this country have not yet realised what opportunities they have before them. There is a little too much of separateness in thought and conduct and of the distinctively critical faculty and too little of discipline and conjoint work. But I am glad to say that that phase is gradually passing. I feel that before each one of us there is a great task. That task is three-fold. The first is, for those who are socially or by the dictates of our religion or usage or by achievements, placed in positions of wealth, status or dignity to forget their position or rather use it for the benefit

of others lower down and remember only the duties that go with status and station. There is a beautiful French expression "*noblesse oblige*". It means that nobility is a compact of obligations (and the emphasis is on duties rather than rights). It is, therefore, necessary for those who belong to what are called higher educated and advanced communities to work for the good of others and not keep aloof, not allowing themselves to be dragged down to lower levels, but bringing the others up. There is always a tendency in all these efforts at consolidation where like water you find yourself being dragged down to lower levels. That must not be so. It must be not subsidence, but aspiration or ascent always and, therefore, these communities must not bring themselves down, but keep themselves up and pull the others up. Secondly, there must be, and I cannot put this too strongly, much less of a desire to achieve the second best in life. What I find here is this: almost every young man and indeed almost every young woman, is always thinking of how to secure something safe, some petty job with a pension at the end so that they might subside into quiescence. The element of adventure, the element of taking risks is not ingrained in us here and if this country has to become influential and wealthy, if this country has to harness its natural interests, that element of adventure, that element of taking risks, that element of not being contented should be encouraged and diffused and should co-exist with mutual trust.

The last point is this: many people have asked me the question how it is that, having taken certain political steps and adopted certain political doctrines in British India during my political days there, I am taking an ostensibly different line today which is unpopular in certain quarters and styled reactionary in some others. May I explain myself, though not in the sense in which a author said "Who excuses himself accuses himself".

In order that any country might achieve a great position, especially in these days of great industrial and other competitions, it must have internal peace and rest. This is a primary necessity and any element or tendency whose object is to minimise that peace will have to be combated with all the forces available. Another aspect is that, so far as Travancore is concerned, the problem that confronts the State is primarily and essentially economic. As I have had occasion to say elsewhere, what is called Democracy, practically does not exist in the economic sphere anywhere in the world of today. In the countries which have got political democracy, there is too often a rigid, acquisitive and ever-spreading oligarchy or autocracy, and in fact it may be said that in most European countries and in America, where what may be called political democracy has been achieved, more or less completely the wealth and resources of the country are in the hands of a small number of successful men who are actually exercising a dictatorship using political democracy and the franchise as a smoke-screen and acquiring control over an apparently Free Press. Fortunately, here, we have all the makings of a society divorced from such elements. Fortunately, here we have no millionaires although there are some "who are referred to as such by a figure of speech in certain controversies of recent origin." There are also no paupers in the sense in which pauperism exists elsewhere. This is a land of the middle class. But, owing to some social laws and, thanks to the increased population, that land of the middle class is fast becoming a land of the extremely poor. That is the actual fact today, and before the problem of poverty and basic livelihood is solved, the political problem cannot be appropriately dealt with and, therefore, it is necessary, even though certain wrong impressions may arise, that the economic problem

must be faced and solved within a limited time before attention can be bestowed on other problems.

Finally, there is one thing which, I must say, has been of great concern and continual wonder to me. In this place alone there were two tendencies visible which are not so discernable elsewhere. From the year 1912, when I was first professionally consulted by His late Highness, I was amazed to find that, notwithstanding the fact that in almost everything that matters Travancore stood ahead not only of most other Indian States but of many provinces, I could rarely obtain from a Travancorean a true account of Travancore and too often there was veiled or open sarcasm or reproach or a ventilation of some grievance. This is not the case with other States or Provinces in whose cases the criticism, if any, is mingled with just pride in, and love for one's own land. Such pride must be cultivated and I think that it is growing. I trust that every one of us here will help a little to see that that legitimate pride is maintained. That does not mean that people are exempt from criticism, legitimate criticism, provided it is not personal, vindictive or destructive.

Before I conclude let me for a moment dwell upon another topic. The question of the Indian States and especially of a State like this, which has been never conquered or annexed, is conditioned upon certain contractual and other duties and obligations to the Paramount Power which it is part of our *dharma* loyally to discharge. Subject to that there can be no appeal from the people of Travancore or by the people of Travancore to anybody excepting His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. So, when one is confronted on every possible and impossible occasion with letters or telegrams or complaints or appeals to a

Mahatma or other personage or this head of the Government or that Archbishop or other dignitary, I consider it is our duty, at any cost, effectually and without possibility of resurrection to destroy that tendency and that constant dependence on some people or some person outside the State and the feeling that there is always a tribunal of last resort. In order to achieve this purpose, certain steps have to be taken and will be taken. Provided that these things are understood, take it from me, His Highness and those who advise him are only too much alive to the value of public life, to the value of criticism, to segregate themselves from them. In fact, every newspaper that continuously and fulsomely praises the State or the administration of this State or His Highness' adviser is doing a kind of disservice. Every act, every gesture of legitimate criticism, provided it is couched in the proper language and is intended to remove legitimate discontent is a positive service. Knowing this, it will be the ideal of this Government to proceed along those lines of economic, social and constitutional progress which are called for in the conditions of this country, provided and only provided these precedent conditions are fulfilled, namely, that the approach is towards His Highness and not anybody else and provided the economic factor is also borne in mind and provided there is that union of hearts without which true progress would be impossible. I am very glad to see, what you have alluded to in your address, that the communities are beginning to realise that they should come together and work together for the glory of their country. That feeling is like a pebble thrown into a reservoir or tank. First of all, there is a small circle, then there come widening circles until they melt in the wide circumstances. So, let this small instinct of unity increase from strength to strength, from

depth to depth, until it envelopes the whole country and let the beginnings of the great world order of the future be thus established. Without harmony and without common effort the baffling problems of life can never be faced and will never be adequately solved.

I thank you, friends, for your welcome whose friendliness I shall remember and cherish.

PART II.

The Federal Idea. *

[It will be conceded that the Federation of Indian States is one of the outstanding problems in India both from the points of view of the Indian Princes and the people of Indian States. The implications of Federation, so far as Travancore is concerned, have engaged the attention of the Government of Travancore as well as the public of Travancore and the members of the Legislature. It is doubtful whether many have studied this complicated problem with that vision and knowledge the subject demands. The broader issues have been on the *tapis* for the past ten years. Since then a discussion of the various aspects of this vast problem have raised issues which seem to baffle satisfactory solution even at the hands of statesmen of the front rank. When the momentous Session of the Chamber of Princes was held in March, 1933, in Delhi, under the Presidentship of Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, for the special purpose of arriving at some approach to a solution of this important question, I was present at the meeting and was able to gather the views of the Princes who were not too enthusiastic in supporting the Scheme as it was then adumbrated at the Session. I had occasion to interview various Princes and their Ministers and ascertain firsthand the depth of feeling on this all-absorbing question. The people in Indian States are equally agitated over the position which they will occupy under the Federal Scheme. On such an intricate topic of current interest there is no one more competent to speak than Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar who was not only intimately associated with the official developments of the problem but had envisaged a definite scheme a couple of years before the subject was officially taken up by the First Round Table Conference which met in London in 1930 under the auspices of His Majesty the King. This is now the main topic of discussion among officials and non-officials. In the proposals contained in the present paper he has demonstrated that he is a real friend of Indian Princes and their people. In this paper Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has admirably succeeded not only in "rapidly passing in review as many as possible of these

* Being the Sri Krishnarajendra Silver Jubilee University Lecture, Mysore, by Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E., delivered at Mysore on the 8th August, 1928.

attempts at federal Government, in analysing their essential characteristics and in deducing therefrom such lessons as may be useful today," but also in giving a lead to the Princes and their people. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has dealt with the subject with such characteristic lucidity and profundity that every one interested in current politics will find it to be a most valuable contribution to the study of a highly complicated constitutional problem—A. P. I.]

A few months ago, in the course of my professional duties, the task devolved on me of investigating certain aspects of the problem of federation in connection with the future of Indian States. It then struck me that the topic will repay careful study, both from the historical and the practical points of view. Some of the results of such study have been embodied in the address which I now have the privilege of delivering to you, and it is to me a source of intense gratification that the occasion is associated with the Jubilee Celebrations of a Ruler, who, by his progressive methods of administration and his adherence to sound constitutional principles is, in his own person, one of the strongest arguments in favour of such a federation of self-governing political entities, as is now envisaged by the majority of Indian thinkers.

It is a very trite saying and true, that there is nothing new under the sun, and this adage is especially illustrated in philosophy and politics. Let me give an illustration which will demonstrate that the teachings of history are never obsolete. Those of us who have had an experience of Diarchy, if we may profitably turn to Roman History, will discover that almost exactly in the places where our shoes pinch us to-day, was the pain felt in the Rome of the Augustan Age. It may not be well-known that Diarchy was the name assigned by the celebrated historian, Mommsen, to the system introduced by Augustus—a constitution wherein the Emperor and his own officers, while really exercising all the powers of Government, hid their omnipotence by bestowing on the Senate certain apparently important

functions while taking away from that body at the same time, its ancient control of finance and the direction of foreign policy. As Gibbon, amongst others, has pointed out, the Augustan Diarchy was a division of executive functions and not of power, and to the curious, the following sentence from Gibbon will read like an extract from some daily newspaper. "The principles of a true constitution are irrevocably lost when the legislative power is nominated by the executive." The Roman method of solving the problem of Diarchy was direct and summary and led to the establishment of a unitary government, which soon outlived its usefulness and toppled over by its own weight.

Whatever the systems of internal government were, and whether they were city states, monarchies, oligarchies or republics, attempts have been and were made in the ancient and modern world to form federations for general or limited purposes, and it will be my object rapidly to pass in review as many as possible of these attempts at federal government, to analyse their essential characteristics and to deduce therefrom such lessons as may be useful for us to-day. As the poet sings, each age is a dream that is dying or one that is coming to birth; and I think it can be stated without fear of contradiction that, among the lessons of the Great War may be classed the realisation of the necessity for the grouping of States and the consciousness that political federations and a League of Nations furnish the best protection in the case of States and nations who have till recently been the victims either of a war of armaments or a trade war. This is one of the manifestations of the time spirit, and, at this juncture, we may well keep in mind what Morley once declared in regard to Cobden and his times. "Great economic and social forces," said Morely, "flow with a tidal sweep over communities that

are only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing and endeavour to shape institutions and to mould men's thoughts and purposes in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them." In such an endeavour, we shall get instruction and apposite illustration from many quarters, in the Vedas and the Itihasas and Kautilya, in Aristotle and Machiavelli, not to mention later thinkers and legislators who have built securely on old foundations. This study, as I have already stated, is much more than merely academic; for, we cannot forget the relevance and the importance of the federal idea at the present moment. The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, whatever the value of the particular scheme evolved by them was, have had before them, it must be acknowledged with gratitude, a true vision of the India of the future. What do they say? "Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of States self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interests, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others, perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over these congeries of States would preside a central government increasingly representative of, and responsible to, the people, dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India, acting as arbiter in inter-State relations and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire." They add in words, which will, no doubt, be familiar to this audience: "In this picture there is a place for the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organisation of British India in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service without loss of individuality." Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford must be classed among the wise statesmen whom Morely has referred to as those who foresee what time is

bringing. In this passage, there is found the germ of all the leafage and the fruitage of Indian politics—provincial autonomy, linguistic provinces, a strong central government, a federation of various political units and an exposition of the limits of their jurisdiction, (such units including the Indian States) and the constitution of a commonwealth equal in status and similar in function to the self-governing Dominions.

I shall now discuss the growth of the ideal, which has found expression in the above passage. A federal union was often attempted in old times by Sovereign States for mutual aid and the promotion of common interests, and if the Achaean and other Greek Confederacies, which were formed after the death of Alexander, had been formed earlier, Hellenic culture and Grecian freedom may perchance have been preserved.

The two Leagues of which we hear most in Greek History are the Aetolian and the Achaean. The former was a league of districts rather than of cities, and it had many points of similarity with the Swiss Confederacy of city and forest cantons. The Achaean League, on the other hand, was composed of cities, and it flourished for over a couple of centuries. The Achaeans destroyed their monarchy and set up a Federal Republic, ten of the twelve cities composing their league, being situated on the Corinthian Gulf. The historian, Polybius, tells us that this league was admired for its fairness and equity and was taken as a model by the cities of greater Greece in the early part of the 5th century, when the lingering consciousness of Hellenic unity and the influence of a common danger obliterated the separatist tendencies always so rife in Greece and brought about a certain amount of consolidation and union in action.

Sparta was the head of a purely voluntary confederacy in the 5th and 4th centuries B. C., the members of which for some

time, at all events, regarded their interests as bound up in hers. In contrast, Athens was the mistress of an empire. The contrast in the political development of Athens and Sparta was similar to the contrast displayed in the political growth respectively of the United States and Great Britain.

It is not my object further to discuss the history of these leagues, but speaking of such federations as well as of the Swiss, Machiavelli, than whom there has been no shrewder judge of men nor keener analyst of affairs, observed in 1513, that "federal States cannot easily expand but hold firmly to what they have acquired and do not lightly embark on war since a republic thus divided cannot make quick decisions. Ambition, moreover, is less set to expansion when its fruits have to be shared," and he further remarks that "the number of fourteen States in the Swiss Confederation has never been increased." It will be noticed that this great political thinker has perceived both the merit and the demerit of federations, their slowness in executive decisions as well as their general pacific disposition. Speaking of various political methods, he gives utterance to an idea which is the nucleus of all modern thought on the subject. "This way is still the best," he says, "namely, to win partners, not subjects."

The controversy amongst ancient and medieval writers regarding federations, their value and their demerits, was renewed in a very startling manner when certain State premiers in Australia claimed to be admitted to the Imperial Conference along with the Federal Premier on the ground that, under the Australian Commonwealth Act, the residue of sovereignty was in the States. In the course of that discussion, Deakin, the well-known Australian Premier, reiterated what the Greeks and the Italians had stated centuries ago, namely, that there are two absolute and essential requisites of a federal system (1) equality

of status and (2) direct relation of citizen to citizen under the federal government, irrespective of the State governments. He thus emphasised the two distinct, though not incompatible, elements of a federation, namely, autonomy of the individual States and the co-existence therewith of loyalty to the central federation. The second essential often tends to be absent in Imperial partnership because of the absence of a supreme federal authority.

In Sir Richard Jebb's book on the Imperial Conference, this proposition is strongly emphasised, and the argument adduced that it is necessary to maintain in full strength the central organisation. This, it will be remembered, was attempted in the case of the War Cabinet, and further steps are now being contemplated in the same direction.

Turning to the history of India in the Vedic and post-Vedic times, we perceive that monarchy is described in the *Rig Veda* as the normal form of government, but Greek writers from Megasthenes onwards have informed us that many centuries before the Christian era, various republican experiments were tried in India. Some of those experiments have been described in the well-known work of Professor Jayaswal on Hindu Polity. We have been given a description of the democracy of the Ambashtas who had a Second House composed of elected elders, of other tribes, who instead of sending ambassadors sent 100 or 150 representatives to negotiate a treaty of peace, and of the Patalas, where the Council of Elders ruled, the ultimate political authority resting with the Gana or Sangha, *i. e.*, the tribal assembly. Whilst on this topic, it may be noticed that the *Mahabharatha* speaks of the troubles of the Gana constitution arising from the difficulty of keeping resolutions secret, and of the consequent necessity of vesting matters of policy in the hands of a few Mantradharas. Much later than these republics,

which were described by Diodorus and the well-known Arrian, arose the Imperial systems, such systems developing along the two familiar lines of Imperial suzerainty and of federation. The former was described by such expressions as Maharajya and Adhipatya, and the latter was spoken of as Sarvabhauma or Samrajya. The Samrajya is very frequently adverted to in Vedic and post-Vedic literature, and mention is made of it in the *Aitareya Brahmana*. Literally translated, it means, of course, a collection of States under one super-State. The *Brahmana* speaks of a certain ruler being consecrated as Samrat at Magadha. The *Sukla Yajur Veda* speaks of the Samrat as existing elsewhere also. In the *Sabha Parva*, Ch. 19, we get an account of the Rishi, Chanda Kausika, meeting Brihathratha and greeting his son as a future Samrat. He says : "All the kings of the earth will be in obedience to the commands of this child, like every creature endued with body living dependent upon Vayu that is dear as self unto beings." The son so blessed was Jarasandha. Elsewhere in the *Mahabharatha*, i. e., in the *Adi Parva*, it is narrated that the position of the Samrat, namely, that of the chief of the federal organisation, was acquired by Jarasandha and Sisupala, the king of the Chedies, was constituted the common Commander-in-Chief, these appointments being founded on an inter-State contractual basis. We also learn in regard to this federation, that the Kukura and the Vrishni tribes, acting on motives of policy, determined not to fight with Jarasandha but apparently made terms with him and joined his federation. One of the causes of the downfall of Jarasandha was that, having acquired his position for the purpose of common protection, he abused that position and endeavoured to reduce other sovereigns into practical slavery. In addition to Jarasandha, another Samrat or President of a federation is known to us, e. g., Janaka, King of the Videhas. Videha, it will be recollected, was a small State in North-east India, and it was the outstanding personal quality

of King Janaka which led to his obtaining the position of President or Chief of the federation. It was on account of its inherently democratic character that in the *Aitareya Brabhma*, the Samrajya is classed amongst the forms of popular Government. Other passages in our literature also furnish indications pointing in the same direction. The elective principle of kingship, the possibility of deposition or refusal to re-elect the chief, are all discerned in the germ. In the *Atharva Veda Sambita*, Ch. 6, vs. 87-88, the following passage occurs: "Let all the people want thee; let not the kingdom fall away from thee; be not moved away like a mountain; let the gathering Samiti suit thee who art fixed," the Samiti referring to the assembly of those gathered together for the chief's election. This evidently is an invocation to the king to preserve all these qualities, which will keep him at the head of the federal system. This hymn also occurs in the *Rig Veda* and both in the *Rig* and *Atharva Vedas* after this hymn there is another passage containing the expression of a hope that the Samrat will not fall from his office.

It may not be out of place to remember that in close analogy to the electoral machinery of the United States, there were certain officers of State in some Indian kingdoms who were called Rutnins, who gathered together and gave a symbolical authority to the Raja or Samrat. These men were also called Rajakrit or king-makers, and they were spoken of as sometimes degrading and banishing and sometimes re-electing the Samrat. As time went on, and as the spirit of conquest became more and more prevalent, the unitary Imperial system superseded the Samrajya theory and the Chakravarti ideal became prevalent. But many Indian philosophers embodied in their writings a reaction against this Chakravarti system which generally went hand in hand with continuous expeditions and conquests or defeats. In the *Vishnu Purana*, for instance, the federal system has been

praised by way of contrast, and it is worthy of notice that both in Manu and in the *Vishnu Purana*, the suggestion was made that that system was the best in which even after conquest individual States were not annihilated nor dynasties destroyed.

In medieval Italy, a large number of city states came into existence, which were true self-governing communities; such communities coalesced into leagues or groups, but they were predecessors not of modern federations but of the national and regional States of recent times.

The German Federation, as it existed before the French Revolution, was a complex affair. Its component parts were (1) ecclesiastical electors and secular electors, including the King of Bohemia; (2) spiritual and temporal princes; and (3) Imperial cities. This federation was destroyed by Napoleon and was succeeded by the Confederation of the Rhine established in 1806 with the French Emperor as Protector. The later German Confederation was formed in 1871. Delegates from various Governments formed the Bundesrath, the popular assembly or Reichstag being directly elected. The federal body had jurisdiction over foreign affairs, the army, navy, postal services, customs, tariffs, coinage, political laws affecting citizens, commerce and navigation, passports, etc.

Switzerland was in reality the oldest, as it is perhaps the most stable, form of federative union. It now comprises 22 sovereign States, there being two federal legislative chambers, the Senate and an Assembly. The system originated as early as 1291, when three Cantons entered into a defensive league. The present constitution came into force in 1874 and included the compulsory referendum as well as the right of the people to inaugurate legislation as distinct from the right of the legislature, a right which is called popular initiative. The federal government consisting of the two Houses and the federal executive,

exercise jurisdiction in matters of peace, war and treaties, army, railway, post and telegraph systems, coining of money, the issue and repayment of bank notes and weights and measures. Legislation on copyright, bankruptcy, patents, sanitary, police and certain public works concerning the whole or a great part of Switzerland, are also within the federal jurisdiction. The Council of States is composed of 44 members, two for each Canton chosen and paid by the 22 Cantons. The National Council, or the Lower House, consists of representatives of the Swiss people chosen by direct election at the rate of one Deputy for every 20,000 souls. The executive authority is deputed to a Federal Council for three years by the Federal Assembly. The President of this very economical Republic has a salary of £ 1,080 per year, each member of the Federal Council getting £ 1,000 per year. The constitution of this country is, however, *sui generis* and doubts have been expressed by such competent thinkers as Viscount Bryce whether a similar system extending over wide areas and in vast populations, such as Great Britain or France, will work as well. This aspect was emphasised in a very remarkable address delivered by the great Napoleon in 1801 to the Swiss delegates. He said: "For States like yours, the federal system is eminently advantageous. I am myself a born mountaineer, and I know the spirit which inspires mountaineers. The more I reflect on the nature of your country and on the diversity of its constituent elements, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of submitting it to uniformity at the top. Everything amongst you conduces to federalism. How much difference exists between the dwellers among the mountains and the dwellers in the cities?" He added that "the Swiss resemble no other State, whether in the nature of historical events that have happened during the many centuries, or the different languages, different religions and the differences in manner that exist in different parts. Nature has made the State federal." In

1803, Napoleon wrote a letter to the Swiss Republic in which he observed: "A form of government, which is the result of a long series of misfortunes, of efforts and of enterprise on the part of the people, will not easily take root anywhere else." No doubt there are special features of the Swiss constitution, which cannot be easily reduplicated in larger countries. I am especially bearing in mind the referendum and the initiative. It is also no doubt true that the success of the experiment in that country is due to historical antecedents, to the long practice of self-government in small communities, to social equality and the pervading sense of public duty. But, nevertheless, it may be remembered that this federal system has brought about united effort among men belonging to different racial stocks, speaking different languages and divided not only by religion but by manners *inter se*. In his classical book on *Modern Democracies*, Viscount Bryce has drawn pointed attention to the circumstance that the federal system leads to many matters being settled by the State, provincial or cantonal assemblies, but that, at the same time, discussions and differences of opinion in the federal assemblies do not generally or necessarily coincide with local differences. Men opposed in national or federal politics often work together harmoniously in the conduct of local, county or municipal business, and this is a feature that obtains not only in Switzerland but also in England, in Canada and in the United States.

The constitution of the United States was settled on the 17th September 1787, and 19 amendments have since then been added, the 18th amendment dealing with prohibition and the 19th with women suffrage. One of the most remarkable things about the development of the constitution in America is the marked difference in the progress of political institutions there as compared with England. In the language of President Wilson, the mode of integration in America has been federal. In

English politics, it has been absorptive. Elsewhere he says that "in all countries the rule of government action is co-operation and the method of development is the shaping of old habits into new ones and the modifying of old means to accomplish new ends. The methods, however, differ according to racial genius." An illustration of this difference is easily available even in the America. The Southern colonies took a different line from the Northern, and their method of progress was on English lines to start with. But in New England, the process was federative from the first, a matter of concession and contract and voluntary association. The Union originated in the grouping together of the New England colonies against the Indians. In 1765 delegates from 9 colonies met at New York, and protested against taxation by the English Parliament, which started the revolution. In 1774 was inaugurated the first of the series of conferences in which the American Union took its rise. In the early stages, there was no trace of organic union or an attempt to bring it about. Federal powers were exercised by the Congress through committees, which were its executive organs : but these committees were advisory, and at the start, the whole thing was more or less like an International Convention, or a meeting of the present day League of Nations. The Confederation had no executive power as such, and the 9 constituent States had to concur before any resolution was adopted and carried out. The executive agency that was created was moreover a committee of members representing all the States. In the language, again, of President Wilson, "it could ask the States for money, but could not compel them to give it ; it could ask them for troops, but could not force them to heed their requisition ; it could make treaties, but must trust the States to fulfil them ; it could contract debts, but must rely on the States to pay them." In his expressive phrase, "it was a body richly endowed with prerogatives but not with powers." The result of this executive imperfection became

very obvious when the immediate pressure of war was removed and a war of tariffs began between neighbouring States, such as New York and New Jersey, Virginia and Maryland.

The working of the original system very soon led American statesmen to the conclusion that in order to maintain internal order and to produce inter-State peace and good-will, a real and powerful central government was essential. This feeling led to the Convention of 1787, which, in turn, created the modern government of the United States. In this convention was it that the idea originated of two legislatures, not following the English system, but exemplifying a real difference of character and origin, one House representing the States equally, the other House representing the people in the aggregate proportionally. The written constitution and its character led to the judiciary being placed not under the President or the two Chambers, but on a footing of equality and alongside of them. As has been observed in an authoritative treatise on the American Constitution, written constituent law is, by its very nature, a law higher than any statute and by that constitution, as by an invariable standard, the Supreme Court should test all legislation. It is well known that, although the constitution framed then has subsisted and grown from strength to strength, the originators were not very much in love with the system they produced and, in fact, they would not have produced it but for the feeling that the only alternative to complete disintegration was some kind of definite union. The fathers of the constitution were always nervous of having too potent a central government rather than of having one which was too weak. They made very elaborate provision to secure that no sacrifice of autonomy or individuality should be made by the States. As is sometimes seen in India, so in the United States, patriotism was often confounded with State patriotism, and did not always signify

federal patriotism, and only idealists like Hamilton felt and spoke otherwise. This led to constant threats of secession, and it needed the Civil War to complete the union, to make the country homogeneous and to convert the federal government into a real representative of the nation. Even now, the American Government is somewhat amorphous. The central Government has become permanent and very strong, but the States have retained their powers and their individuality. In a passage in Woodrow Wilson's *The State* it is asserted that "the prerogatives of the State are as essential to our system as ever, are, indeed, becoming more and more essential to it from year to year as the already complex organism of the Nation expands. But instead of regarding the Government of the United States and the Government of a State as two governments, we are beginning to regard them as two parts of one and the same government, two complementary parts of a single system." As in Switzerland so in America, the various States have maintained their right to govern in all ordinary matters without federal interference. As De Tocqueville has emphasised, "the States are the chief constituent units of the political system. They make up the mass, the constituent tissue, the organic stuff of the government of the country." The ideal of the United States, in short, is that federal government is the exception, while the government of the State is the rule.

Following up this principle, the legislative powers of the Union are only those which it would be impossible to regulate by any system of State action. The Congress, therefore, has the power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises for the support of the government of the Union, the payment of its debts and the promotion of the common defence and welfare, as well as the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States. But powers of taxation and borrowing also

belong to the States, though they must not raise their revenues by a resort of duties, imposts and excises, which privilege appertains to the Union exclusively. The powers differentiating the general government from the government of the States are not really the powers of raising money but the following: control of the monetary system of the country, the maintenance of post office and postal roads, patents and copyrights, crimes on the high seas and against the law of nations, the foreign relations of the country, the control of the armed forces, the declaration of war and peace and the regulation of commerce with foreign countries and among the States. All these powers, as will be seen, are such as will affect interests, which cannot be adequately regulated by separate State action. All other powers inhere in the States. There are certain further powers which the States cannot exercise; namely, passing any *ex post facto* law or bill of attainder, impairing the obligation of contracts, or granting any title of nobility and concluding agreements with other States or with foreign powers. These restrictions, however, hardly impair the normal sphere of action of the States. What are the powers inherent in the American States? All the civil and the religious rights depend on State legislation; education, regulation of suffrage, rules of marriage and of guardianship and parent and child, partnerships, insurance, corporations, possession, distribution and use of property, all contractual relations, and all criminal law with unimportant exceptions are within their purview. As stated by a text writer on the subject, to detail the parts of State jurisdiction would be to catalogue all social and business relationships, and to set forth all the foundations of law and order. An illustration has often been given of the preponderant part played by State law, as contrasted with the English system consisting in the fact that practically all the subjects of legislation which engaged the public mind of England in the 19th century would have come within the purview of

State legislation: Catholic emancipation, Parliamentary reform, the amendment of the Poor Laws, reform of municipal corporations, the admission of Jews into Parliament, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the alteration of the Irish land laws, the establishment of national education, the introduction of the ballot and the reform of the criminal law. In fact it has been averred that excepting the repeal of the Corn Laws and the abolition of slavery, all the main subjects with which the English Parliament busied itself during the whole of the last century would have been subjects for State regulation; and even about slavery, it was only by constitutional amendment that the slave question was brought within the field of federal authority.

This discussion will demonstrate how very tenaciously the States have clung to real power and authority, and maintained their autonomy in spite of the necessity and the beneficial character of federal action. In other words, although the articles of confederation recognised a common citizenship, each State has insisted on keeping within as short a compass as possible the extent of jurisdiction delegated to the Congress. The principle underlying the American Constitution is a conjunction of sovereign States for the purpose of serving certain common interests, each agreeing to give up certain functions, in order that those functions may be jointly exercised for the common good by a body created for the purpose. The powers of the Central Government are limited by a written constitution, which can only be amended by the consent of two-thirds of both the legislative bodies and the execution of those powers is entrusted to three authorities, executive, legislative and judicial. The legislative organisation of the federation, which was originally borrowed from the Connecticut practice, seeks to represent the two elements upon which all federal governments rest; namely, the popular will of the country at large and the opinion of the

State. The States themselves have two legislatures, but the purpose of the Second House therein is to ensure deliberateness in legislation and to escape the taint of precipitate action, which may be taken by a single all-powerful chamber. These two chambers in the various States represent different constituencies, though both come directly from the people. So far as the executive functions are concerned, the President of the United States is the only executive officer of the federal government, who is elected. All other federal officials are appointed by him. Whatever they may be, in fact, in theory they are only his advisers. In the various States, on the other hand, the Governor and the officials are all colleagues of each other.

President Woodrow Wilson in his treatise on *Congressional Government*, thus sums up the fundamentals of the United States organisations: "They consist of a congress exercising law-making power, a President charged with the execution of the laws and a Supreme Court determining the lawfulness of what is done by individuals, by the State governments, or by federal authorities." The line of division as between federal and State powers is not easy to draw. The weakness of the system has been described as follows, namely, that federal government in the United States as at present constituted lacks strength because its powers are divided, lacks promptness because its authorities are multiplied, lacks wieldness because its processes are round about, lacks efficiency, because its responsibility is indistinct and its action without competent direction. Lowell, in fact, has called it government by declamation.

The transcendent success of America in many spheres of life and the general national efficiency ought not to blind us to the many difficulties produced by its constitution, from every one of which framers of new systems and constitutions may take a lesson and warning. It has been justly argued that the speakers

of a congressional majority are at liberty to condemn what their own committees are doing. At the same time, practically all the work of the Congress is done in committee. Nobody stands sponsor for the policy of the government as a whole, and the doctrine of ministerial responsibility is unknown. It has been picturesquely stated that the policy of the American Government may be originated by a dozen men, a dozen more may compromise, twist and alter it and a dozen officers, whose names are unknown may put it into execution. Competent thinkers have also often expressed the view that in the United States, though the Congress possesses all legal authority and jurisdiction, the Press and political machines have the greatest weight. Epigrammatically, it has been alleged that the Editor directs public opinion, the Congressman obeys it. Hamilton, himself the originator and father of the constitution, held the view that it would be more easy for the States governments to encroach upon national authority than for the national governments to encroach upon State authorities. This is another of the inherent weaknesses of federal constitutions, where the individual State is the residuary legatee of all power, and it is necessary therefore, to keep in view always the importance of giving federal authorities all the force which is compatible with liberty. By reason of these conflicts, actual and potential, the balance between the State governments and the federal authorities has to be maintained by the judicial system. Justice Cooley has summarised the position thus ;—

“ The real growth of the power of the Congress has been by its jurisdiction over commerce and the public utility services, and the sole and sufficient legitimate check upon the encroachment of federal power is in the Federal Supreme Court, with competent power to restrain all departments and officers within the limits of their just authority, in so far as their acts come within judicial cognisance.”

This survey of the constitution of the United States and its working cannot but make us realise that the creation of a federal government is a matter of no small difficulty, its working is very complicated and resort to legal machinery is, from the nature of things, apt to be frequent. There is another difficulty which has to be recognised, and it has arisen not only in the United States but in other federations as well. This difficulty has been very accurately indicated by Keith in his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*. He remarks that the theory that changes of law, say, for instance as to legislation regarding pollution of waters can be effected by the parallel action of a number of legislators is one which will not be entertained very readily by any person, who has observed the trouble experienced in the United States, or in any other federation in securing uniformity in different legislatures. Moreover, such divergencies may become very troublesome in business transactions. Each province may insist on having its own type of legislation as to company law or as to insurance or patent, trade mark or copyright, and the best solution therefore would be to make all these federal subjects. But even as to what may be described as essentially State subjects, it would be futile to ask one legislature exactly to follow the precedent of another. Questions of *ultra vires*, the hampering of governments, the weakening of the executive and the possibility of serious disputes between the federation and its members, cannot also be lost sight of, and these latter may become very serious indeed, where the members of a federation are situated at a distance from each other. The danger experienced by Canada owing to the attitude of British Columbia in the seventies, the failure of the Australian Commonwealth to make the railway between South and Western Australia, and the controversies between New Foundland and Canada *inter se* and New Zealand and Australia, ought to convey a warning to would-be framers of constitutions. In short, the problem presented and not completely

solved by the United States constitution is the problem of retaining sufficient executive and legislative power at the centre to secure strength and uniformity without trespassing on the legitimate powers of the component States.

I shall next deal with the federations within the British Empire. It is surely needless to recount the earlier history of Canada and the manner in which Durham and his advisers overcame the obstacles in their path, local, personal and Imperial, before Canada was welded into a confederation. Many of the arguments, which are familiar to us in India, were adduced by opponents of the scheme. The French and the English disliked each other intensely. There were conflicts of manners, customs, and religions, and different parts of Canada had attained different stages of educational advancement and political training. Nevertheless, the great experiment was made, and not only has the Canadian constitution vindicated the wisdom of its originators, but it has been the model for many subsequent experiments, the latest of them being that inaugurated in the Irish Free State. Each of the constituent parts of the Canadian Federation had a different history. As in India, so in Canada, several portions came under the British power at various times by settlement, conquest or cession. It became essential both on account of the history of the various provinces and by reason of other over-mastering political considerations, to emphasise the importance and maintain the strength of the central machinery. Not all the provinces were willing to come together, and, therefore, provision was made in the original Act for the admission, as and when they chose, of States like British Columbia and other territories. Newfoundland has not yet availed itself of this provision. The preamble of the British North America Act, 30 Vic., Ch. III, recites that the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have expressed their desire

to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom. As already stated, provision is made by the Act for the admission into the Union of other parts of British North America. The distinctive feature of the constitution is that the powers of the Dominion or Federal Parliament include all subjects not assigned exclusively to the provincial legislature. In Canada, therefore, the Central Federation is the residuary authority. In the language of Section 91 of the Act, the Parliament of Canada has legislative authority in respect of all matters not assigned exclusively to provincial legislatures, these matters including public debt, regulation of trade and commerce, borrowing money on public credit, military and naval masters, navigation, shipping, currency, coinage, banking, criminal law, etc. The executive power is vested in the Governor-General aided and advised by a Privy Council. Of the two Houses of Parliament, the Upper House is based on a property qualification, the House of Commons being a wholly elected body with exclusive originating powers with regard to appropriation and tax bills. In the provinces, some have bi-cameral and some uni-cameral legislatures. Amongst the subjects assigned to the provincial legislatures are the amendment of the provincial constitution, direct taxation for revenue purposes, the financing and execution of local works and undertakings, excepting those extending beyond the province or connecting with other provinces and excepting also other works which the Dominion Government declares are for the general good. Certain backward portions of Canada are governed by Commissioners assisted by Councils, *e.g.*, the northwest territory and the Yukon. Each Minister is paid a salary of 10,000 dollars a year, the Prime Minister 15,000 dollars, the leader of the opposition receiving a salary of 10,000 dollars, in addition to the sessional allowance which every member receives of 4,000 dollars subject to deduction for non-attendance. The

Canadian constitution, by common consent, has been an outstanding success, and not only has Canada greatly prospered under it, but it has attained such a position that at the present moment, it is practically treated as a separate international entity. During the War, each Dominion not only took an active part in the direction of the British Commonwealth's War efforts, but received a recognised place in the War Council, and at the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Disarmament Conference, there was distinctive representation of the Dominions. Finally, the British and Dominion Governments have definitely agreed that the principles of autonomy and equal nationhood shall govern their future political relations, this of course implying that the Dominions have an adequate voice in foreign policy. All this was largely achieved through Canadian efforts. Canadian statesmen were last year elected to the Council of the League of Nations and sat side by side with the representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan; and Canada sends its own Minister plenipotentiary to Washington, and the United States sends a Minister to Canada. Canada has thus not only worked out her national salvation by means of its constitution, but has created for herself an international position of importance.

The wisdom of the Canadian settlement and the beneficent results achieved by it will be realised all the more vividly if we bear in mind the posture of affairs during some years before the passing of the British North American Act. In various ways, a spirit of antagonism was manifesting itself between the French inhabitants and the British population settled in Canada. The temporary truce, which prevailed during the War of 1812 was soon succeeded by grave internal political difficulties. The Legislative and Executive Councils were at open variance with popular representative assemblies. Strife prevailed between Upper and Lower Canada. The natural position of Quebec and

Montreal gave Lower Canada a special position as to exports and imports. There were serious financial misunderstandings between the provinces respecting their share of import duties. Although there was a Legislative Union between the two provinces carried out in 1841, it was found that the British were divided on old English party lines, but the French Canadians, united by race and religion, were able to hold the balance of power between the British parties. Thus it was that a practical deadlock was in existence until the happy solution was reached of a Federative Union, reserving to each State the control of its own local government. The effects of this great experiment cannot be described better than in the language of the Earl of Dufferin, who, speaking of the Canadian spirit after the Act had been worked for a few years declared: "I should be the first to deplore this feeling if it rendered Canada disloyal to herself, if it either dwarfed or smothered Canadian patriotism or generated a sickly spirit of dependence. Such however is far from being the case. The Legislation of the Parliament of Canada, the attitude of its statesmen, the language of its Press, sufficiently show how firmly and intelligently its people are prepared to accept and apply the almost unlimited legislative faculties, with which it has been endowed, while the daily growing disposition to extinguish sectional jealousies and to ignore obsolete provincialism, prove how strongly the heart of the confederated Commonwealth has begun to throb with the consciousness of its national existence. Yet so far from this gift of autonomy having brought about a divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more friendly now than in those early days, when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage." These are words of profound statesmanship and wide applicability. Only superficial observers can say that the Canadian constitution is a copy of the

American. That the framers of the Quebec Resolutions adopted portions of the American system is undoubted, but every care was taken to avoid those weak points in that system, which the experience of years had brought to light. "We can now," said Sir John MacDonald, when moving in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, the resolution in favour of the Union, "take advantage of the experience of the last 78 years, during which the United States constitution has existed, and I am strongly of belief that we have in a great measure avoided, in this system which we propose for the adoption of the people of Canada, the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American constitution." The election of a President for a term of 4 years, the independence of the President during this period, both of his Ministers and of Congress, and the delegation to the Central Government of definite, specified powers leaving the balance of legislative power in the States, are three of the most important characteristics of the United States constitution. But not one of these principles was adopted in Canada. The executive authority was vested in the Crown, represented in Canada by a Governor-General, appointed by the Crown, who is required to act by the advice of a Ministry *responsible to the Canadian Parliament*. Specified powers only are given to the provinces, the balance of legislative power being lodged in the Dominion or in the British Parliament, for the belief prevailed in Canada that the exceptional powers of the American States and the doctrine of State rights had been leading factors in bringing about the great Civil War.

Some unexpected constitutional developments have occurred in Canada as in the United States. In the States, there is no more characteristic feature than the growth of the power of the Senate as compared with the decreased influence of the House of Representatives. In Canada, on the other hand, the influence of the House of Commons has grown at the expense of the Senate.

Two reasons may be assigned for this. In the first place, the Canadian Senators are nominated by the Governor-General as the representatives of the Crown, whereas the American Senators are elected by the State Legislatures and an elected body tends to become more powerful than a nominated body. The system of nomination is indeed sufficient of itself to explain the decadence of the Canadian Senate; but the election of the Senators by the State Legislatures is not sufficient to account for the power of the American Upper House. Such a method of election is not far removed from the method of nomination. The real cause of the predominance of the latter body seems to lie in the fact that all Ministers and officials are appointed by the Senate, though nominated by the President. No such power has been given to the Canadian Senate. All Ministers and officials are appointed by the Governor-General as representing the Crown, though such appointments, when not the result of an examination, are made on the advice of the Privy Council.

A second unexpected result has been the conflict between at least one of the provinces and the Dominion. When the framers of the constitution provided that all powers not specifically delegated to the provinces should remain with the Dominion, it was thought that all danger of conflict between the central authority and the province had been removed. The exercise of the Governor-General's right of veto in the case of the Manitoba Railway Acts showed that it was not the case, and that where the veto is exercised, not on the ground that the province has exceeded its legislative powers but on grounds of "general policy" a conflict may arise. It should be added that the Dominion is fully alive to the necessity of rarely interfering with provincial legislation, except where clearly illegal.

The Commonwealth of Australia Act, 63 & 64 Vic., Ch. XII, is also an attempt at Federation. It begins by reciting that

the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania humbly relying upon the blessings of Almighty God have agreed to unite into one indissoluble Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom. Under Section 51 of the Act, the legislative power of the Federal Parliament in Australia includes commerce, shipping, finance, banking, currency, defence, external affairs, postal and telegraph and like services, census and statistics, weights and measures, copyright, railways, and conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes, extending beyond the limits of any one district. But the Federal Parliament in Australia is a legislature with limited and enumerated powers, the several States retaining the residuary power of Government over their respective territories as in the case of the United States. The Senate or Upper House is chosen for a term of six years, there being six Senators for each original State. The Lower House or the House of Representatives is chosen in proportion to the respective numbers of the people. Recent Australian History has revealed the same difficulties in the working of this federal constitution as have become apparent in the United States.

The first ten years of the Commonwealth were somewhat disturbed and the evolution of parties and political creeds did not proceed fast, nor did the people easily begin to think in terms of the Commonwealth rather than of a group of States. It was the War that gave that common aim, which the years of peace did not afford. Although the construction of the Trans-Continental Railway, the provision of compulsory military training and the creation of the Australian Navy were initiated before the War, yet it must be remembered that even the erection of a Federal Capital at Canberra at first aroused feelings of jealousy and derision. There were very sharp divisions on questions of tariffs and taxation, which were succeeded by a

cleavage between political Labour and the force that opposed it. The rise of Labour in politics was a remarkable feature of Australian growth. At the end of 1925, it was the main force in opposition to the federal government, and it actually held office in every State, excepting Victoria. The rise of Labour in Australia has been thus described:— ‘ The broad lines of the movement may be said to have run along the ever-increasing education of the working classes to political power, the application of the machinery of the great Unions towards party ends and the determination of the Labour leaders that their influence should extend far beyond the industrial as distinct from the political life of the community.’’ The apprehensions of those who feared revolutionary changes as a result of the political activities of organised Labour have been falsified and the rigidity of the Australian constitution has been demonstrated by experience, and proposals which obtained the necessary statutory authority in both Houses of Parliament were generally lost when they were referred to the people. The position of the States as originally contemplated has been to a certain extent altered by the activity of the High Court, which under the terms of the constitution, is made the final interpreter of the constitution. The High Court of Australia has enunciated the following doctrine in connection with cases of over-lapping of State and federal powers, *viz.*, that Section 109 of the Act gives supremacy not to any particular class of Commonwealth Act, but to every Commonwealth Act over not merely State Acts passed under concurrent powers but to all State Acts though passed under an exclusive power if any provisions of the two conflict. This decision given in the *Amalgamated Society of Engineers vs. The Adelaide Steamship Co.*, really amounts to a new principle obviously affecting the status of the States and detracting from their autonomy. By one or two other decisions of the High Court, State legislation as to the creation of new types of

property and as to restrictions on the sale of commodities, was declared *ultra vires*. There is thus observed in Australia the tendency to enhance the powers of the Federal Legislature or at all events to exclude certain fields of legislation from the jurisdiction of the States, thus bringing the constitution of Australia if not in theory at least in practice nearer to the Canadian ideal. This result, be it remarked, is effectuated by what may be termed judicial legislation.

The South Africa Act IX, Ed. VII, Ch. IX, was a legislative union of the already self-governing colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. The Upper House consists of 8 nominated and 32 elected members, and the House of Assembly consists of 135 elected members. Although it is difficult to give summary judgments on the work of the legislatures and governments, it cannot but be admitted that the South African constitution has not been as successful as the Canadian in welding together for common national endeavour the various elements of the population, aboriginal, Dutch, English and Indian. Although the South African Colonies and Republics became united in 1910 under a common administration, the Commonwealth did not soon enter upon the longed-for era of racial reconciliation and material progress. The first Union Parliament gave rise to a predominantly Dutch Ministry, and racial jealousies have been a feature of some of the administrations. A great deal of patient and uphill work had to be done by General Botha to carry out economic reforms in the matter of using the State railways as agencies of taxation, the reorganisation of the Civil Service and the apportionment of the revenue between the Provincial and Central Administrations. The reorganisation of the railways led to a series of dissents, and in 1912 the well-known speech of General Hertzog was made, which declared that, when the proper

time came, South Africa will look after its own interests first and those of the Empire afterwards. This speech led to the cleavage between Botha and Hertzog and the Asiatic legislation, and the disturbances of the Rand led up to a situation, which is still in a position of unstable equilibrium. The post-war attitude of the political parties has to a certain extent mellowed the acerbities of the situation, but even after the modification by General Hertzog as Prime Minister of his previous declaration and his averment that secession would be a flagrant mistake, there is still a very strong secessionist party in South Africa and the political segregation of the natives is one of the problems on which cleavage in thought and action is most manifest. The Flag question, and what is usually styled the Native question, are still factors which not only detract from the solidarity of the parties, but are the outward manifestations of what may be a serious disruptive tendency. How far these disharmonies are the result of the imperfection of the constitution, and how far they are based on other and equally fundamental reasons, cannot yet be affirmed with certitude. There has been a very perceptible tug of war between the Dutch and the English elements, and it is only the limited population and the vast resources of the country that have enabled it to tide over the many crises, which have confronted it.

We now pass on to certain federal constitutions fashioned by countries and races remaining outside British or rather Anglo-Saxon influence. After the deposition of Don Pedro II in 1889, Brazil was declared a Republic under the title of the United States of Brazil. This Federal Union consists of 20 States, a national territory purchased in 1902 and a federal State. Each of the federal provinces forms a State administered at its own expense without interference from the federal government; excepting for defence, for the maintenance of order and for the

execution of the federal laws. Fiscal arrangements in such matters as import duties, stamps, postage rates and circulation of bank notes belong to the Union, but export dues are the property of the various States. Here, as in most modern constitutions, the Lower House is constituted on a population basis, the Upper House being chosen at the rate of 3 Senators for each State. The executive authority of the State is vested in the President, who holds office for four years and is not eligible for a second term. In order to avoid dictatorships, provision is made that no candidate for Presidentship must be related by blood or marriage in the first or second degree to the actual President or Vice-President or a person who has ceased to be so within six months. The Ministers have no right of audience in Congress, but communicate with the Congress by letter or in conferences with Committees. The Federal Ministers are not responsible to the Congress. Each State in the Federal Union is organised separately and the Governors and the members of the Legislatures are all elected.

The new federal constitution of Mexico was promulgated on the 5th February 1917. By the terms of its constitution, Mexico is declared a federative republic divided into States. There are 28 States, one federal district and two territories. Each separate State has its own internal constitution, government and laws. Inter-State customs duties are not permitted. Each State has its own special codes, but it must publish and enforce laws issued by the federal government. Though each State has a right to manage its local affairs, the whole is bound together by certain fundamental and constitutional laws. Here, as in the United States, the powers of the Federation are divided into three branches, legislative, executive and judicial, the legislative power being vested in a Congress consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate, representatives being elected for two years by universal suffrage, and the Senators being elected

two for each state. The President is also elected. He is ineligible for re-election, and he appoints Secretaries of State.

Under the new German constitution promulgated by the National Assembly at Weimar on the 11th August 1919, the federal matters are foreign relations, defence, customs duties, taxation and railway services.

There is a Lower House and a State Council. The Cabinet appointed by the President must, however, enjoy the confidence of the Reichstag, that is, the Lower House. The principle of ministerial responsibility is thus introduced at the centre, this feature differentiating the German system from the American model. This constitution is also noteworthy in as much as it is based both in the federal and State legislatures on universal franchise, and elections also are regulated according to the principle of proportional representation.

In the Union of the Socialistic Soviet Republics as in most other constitutions, there is provision made for two chambers, the Union Council consisting of 450 members elected on the principle of proportional representation by the people of the constituent republics and the Council of Nationalities elected on the basis of five members for every independent and autonomous republic and one member for every autonomous region.

In the constitution of the Irish Free State laid down by the Irish Free State Agreement Act of 1922, its status in the community of nations known as the British Empire is assimilated to that of the Dominion of Canada. Provision is also made in the Act for a Referendum and for the Initiative on the Swiss model. Election to the Lower House is on the principle of proportional representation, and the term of office is four years. The Senate or Upper House is also elected, and its members must be citizens who have done honour to the nation by reason of useful public

services or who represent important aspects of the nation's life, the duration of the Senate being 12 years.

From the above rapid analysis of many of the federal constitutions of the world, the following conclusions emerge. The recent tendency has been to rely upon a federation in all cases, where different political units desire to come together for common political ends. In practically all these constitutional experiments, the federal legislature is composed of two Houses, one representative of the various States or political units and the other of the people at large. In all these experiments, moreover, the various States have got their own legislatures and executives, the latter being chosen by, and responsible to, the respective States in greater or less degree, the former being sometimes uni-cameral, sometimes bi-cameral. There are, however, notable differences in the extent of authority of the States, and in the jurisdiction and powers of the federal and State legislatures and executives. There are also important divergences as to the respective authorities of the legislative and judicial machinery, ranging from parliamentary omnipotence to the supremacy of federal courts. Some countries like Germany have adopted the principle of responsibility of the federal executive to the federal legislature. Others have made the federal executive the nominees of the chief of the federal government. This, however, has happened only in cases where the head of the federal Government is himself the nominee of the people, is elected by them and is their true representative. Nevertheless, the legal authority of President of the United States is almost supreme and is unique among the advanced countries. I am not of course comparing it with the practical dictatorships of Italy and Spain, which are the results of a reaction against a badly worked parliamentary system.

The predilection of modern constitutional writers and publicists has been in favour of the federal model rather than of

the unitary government. In India also, there has been considerable discussion as to the possibility of a federal reorganisation of the country. Without entering into present day politics and political controversies, I shall only point out that in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1919, it was recognised that some kind of collective consultation and some means of deliberation between the Government of India and the various Princes on matters of common interest to both, must be devised. It was admitted that, in the present state of things, many States were vitally affected by decisions taken by the Central Government of India and by the Secretary of State without reference to them. It was realised that there was no machinery for collective consultation and it was conceded that the Indian States, at all events, had a clear right to ask for such collective consultation in the future. The scheme was adumbrated of a Council of Princes, a Council of State and a Privy Council, and the ideal was envisaged of constituting a machinery for bringing what were termed the Senatorial institution of British India into close relation with the rulers of Native States. There was hinted the possibility of joint deliberation between the Council of State and the Chamber of Princes. The idea was also adumbrated of Princes serving on committees of the Privy Council, which was sought to be brought into existence. The outlines of this federal arrangement, if such it can be called, were obviously very sketchy, and like some of the more recent speculations in that direction, including Sir Leslie Scott's, it suffers from the serious defect of failing to recognise two factors of considerable moment: (1) the people of the Indian States and (2) the need to co-ordinate the political and economic ideals of the Indian States on the one hand and of the people of India on the other in matters of common concern.

Various political bodies and individuals in India have exercised themselves in the task of constitution building. Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, President of the Indian National Congress,

1926, in his publication entitled *An Outline of the Swaraj Constitution*, has initiated a discussion as to whether the future constitution of India should be on the federal model or the unitary. He attacks the theory of unitary government with concurrent powers vested in the Central and Provincial legislatures in provincial subjects. He combats the argument that, under a unitary government, a conflict would be avoided between central and provincial authorities, and does not share the belief that, under a unitary government, there would be less chance of the domination of one community over another. His arguments in favour of the federal system are these: (1) The importance and the necessity of gradually including the Indian States which may fit into a federal India whilst retaining independence in domestic affairs. (2) The prevention of the acquisition by any dominant caucus of too much power. According to him, and in his own language, "a federal democracy is the best safeguard against the springing up of ambitious oligarchies, commercial or militarist." His pamphlet is a suggestive contribution to the discussion of the subject, and has the great merit of drawing pointed attention to the eastern conception of the law of Dharma as being above and beyond the Sovereign. He contends that many Indian institutions, although autocratic in form, are really democratic by instinct. The Commonwealth of India Bill of 1915, which owes its inception to the industry and enthusiasm of Dr. Besant, and which rightly stresses the importance of organising the constitution from the village upwards, and most of the other draft constitutions so far attempted, including Sir Abdur Rahim's, prefer the centripetal federation of Canada to the federalism of the United States or Australia.

Having examined the main features of some of the federal constitutions of the world, let me for a moment analyse the objects of all governments and constitutions. It has been aptly

and truly asserted that in order to satisfy the just and legitimate demands of the citizen, a Government should have these essential characteristics. It should be strong enough to defend itself from outside attacks, and keep peace at home and administer justice. This requisite of Government has been well described in a recent and thought-provoking book entitled *Rods and Axes* by A. L. Carthill who is also responsible for the *Lost Dominion*. "Every government must be strong enough," he says "to coerce the criminal and the rebel, the former being the man who sets up his private will and the latter the man who sets up the will of a section against the will of the community." The second requisite of government is that it should have the vision to perceive and to diagnose the evils that affect the body politic. But however strong and wise a government may be, no government and no constitution has a long "expectation of life" in the phraseology of Insurance Law, unless it adapts itself to the national genius, and unless, moreover, it works in consonance with the dictates of the Time Spirit. A form of government imposed from without has less chances of survival than one which is evolved spontaneously. In fact, a government being one of the manifestations of racial or national spirit, must express in the political field its special aptitudes and outlook. The same writer dealing with this particular topic makes some pertinent observations. "A government which is a mechanical one, for instance, which is imposed from without or from above, however skilfully it may be constructed, and however efficiently it may work for a time, yet by the very fact that it is a mechanism, is a dead thing, and possesses no flexibility. Sooner or later, the time will come when stresses which it was not designed to bear can no longer be coerced by its rigid frame-work, and the whole cunning structure will fall into irreparable ruin. Destruction in due time awaits the organism also, but the death of an organism is a benign and fertilising process compared to the ruin of a machine."

This is a period when fundamentals are being examined and re-examined and no single political solution can be all-embracing or totally satisfying. A nation like the Italian, which organised the best type of medieval city state and convulsed Modern Europe with its national efforts is now apparently doubtful of the efficacy of Parliamentary Government as understood in recent European History. In certain countries, a Supreme Chief is often associated as a co-equal colleague of Parliament, having powers not dependent on the will of Parliament. Large socialistic experiments shifting the centre of gravity of Parliamentary authority are in progress in certain countries ; but whatever may be the extent or validity of these endeavours, the maxim of Aristotle is applicable to them all. "Every form of Government or Administration must contain a supreme power over the whole State. This supreme power must necessarily be in the hands of one person or a few or many. Such States are well governed when these apply their power for the common good. But they are ill-governed when the interest of the one or the few or the many who enjoy this power are alone consulted." The next passage on the same work contains a statement which is both the argument and the justification for democracy and for federation. Aristotle proceeds to observe: "For, either affirm that those who make up the community are not citizens or let those share in the advantages of government." This share of the common people in the advantages of government is what is attempted, and can be conferred, only by a successful Parliamentary system. The success of any Parliament depends upon a franchise and electoral system, which make it sufficiently representative of the opinion of the country. As important as this requisite is that, while Parliament should control the executive, it should not destroy its initiative or impair its authority in the things that are essential to proper government.

It is at this point that there arises the need to examine the efficacy and the utility of a strong Executive Government, and no system or constitution can be pronounced successful which does not secure this end. Parliamentary Government is, as already stated, on its trial, and one of the institutions which is most canvassed is the Second Chamber, which is a common feature in federal systems, and which in some of these systems, shares a part of the executive power with the head of the State, e. g., the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate. Having regard to what, has been stated above, it is worth considering whether in order to secure efficient legislation whilst keeping intact the power of the Central Executive, there should not be a complete re-orientation of ideas regarding the functions and jurisdiction of a Second Chamber. *Apropos* of this subject, a very fruitful speculation, was initiated by Mr. Spender in his book on *Publie Life*, wherein he has discussed the possibility of "a Second Chamber being a preparatory, rather than a revising chamber, a chamber which shall prepare the ground for legislation on burning questions, provide Government and the public with all the available knowledge on these subjects, show what the alternative solutions are, and which, if any, of the solutions are barred by economic facts or unforeseen consequences, a chamber, in fact, which would provide all the essential knowledge, which is so apt to be obscured also in the battle of parties and their electioneering cries" and I may add, so apt to be obscured also in the battle between the conflicting claims of various States or component units of a federation.

If the considerations detailed above lead to the conclusions that the future constitution of India cannot be constructed save on a federal basis, the following problems arise for discussion and solution. Some of the solutions may be tentative and temporary and others permanent.

1. The re-grouping of the provinces on the lines of linguistic and cultural or historic and administrative unity.

2. Indian States with their varying sizes and importance and differences in political evolution. Federation in the sense of each Indian State being considered equal in voting power to every other State would be impracticable. The question, therefore, arises of a resort to a system of grouping of certain States, in order to enable them to play their part in such a federation.

3. The careful circumscribing of interference in internal matters, both in the case of the provinces and of the Indian States, the limitation in the latter case originating from treaties and political practice, and in the former case from motives of administrative convenience.

4. The drawing up of a list of subjects, in regard to which federal activity is legitimate, such a list excluding matters having a direct bearing on internal administration. A tentative list is appended herein below :—

(a) Transport and communications (Inter-State, Inter-Provincial and All-India).

(b) Rights in water for irrigation or other purposes and inland navigation, where more than one State or province are concerned.

(c) Merchant shipping including coastal navigation.

(d) Customs and tariffs including bounties.

(e) Coinage and currency. The future Federal Reserve Bank, which is inevitable.

(f) Codification of commercial law.

(g) Weights and Measures.

(h) Extradition.

(i) Labour questions of a general character.

(j) Public health and emigration questions having a more than local importance.

(k) And of course all questions of defence and armaments and foreign policy.

5. The consideration of the creation of a Privy Council composed of representatives both of the provinces and of the States and their Rulers, from out of which the federal executive may be chosen and which may be utilised as a consultative body for many purposes as in England, Canada and even in Imperial Japan. The executives to be chosen must enjoy the confidence of the appropriate Legislatures and the device of the Privy Council is not suggested as an oligarchical apparatus.

6. The vesting of residuary and exceptional jurisdiction in federal matters in the representative of the Sovereign.

7. The creation of a new federal legislative body, wherein representatives of the various provinces and of the Indian States would both sit. The other alternative of the inclusion in one or other of the present legislative bodies of a certain number of Indian State representatives is not practicable for the following reasons :—

(a) The internal administration of Indian States not forming the appropriate subject of legislation by the federal legislative body, it may be well argued that Indian States representatives should not play any prominent part in legislation solely appertaining to British Indian affairs.

(b) It would be inconvenient to include representatives of Indian States in a body which will mostly deal with subjects on which they cannot and ought not to exert any decisive influence.

(c) The creation of a body representative solely of Indian States, forming a separate chamber of the legislature, operating

only on matters affecting Indian States is also objectionable, the ground being that it will not be possible to secure that co-ordinate action, which will only arise as a result of mutual compromise and give and take, where a homogenous legislative body functions as such, its powers extending over the whole country.

8. The elimination of all ideas of creating a rigid Super-State.

9. The election of a tribunal for the purpose of giving opinions on what may be called justifiable matters, which will inevitably arise in the working of any written constitution, such a tribunal having jurisdiction at least in its earlier stages (a) to hear and determine any dispute which parties thereto may submit and (b) to give an advisory opinion in certain circumstances and classes of cases.

10. The question of vesting taxation or revenue-raising powers in federal bodies and for the purpose of avoiding acute controversies or deadlocks, the laying down of some such proposition as follows:—

That if a certain proportion of Indian States representatives or British Indian representatives be opposed to any fiscal policy or policy of taxation, such a policy should not be carried out for a specified period.

11. A Second Chamber of the kind described above would be invaluable on such occasions as well as in connection with controversial, social and economic legislation.

12. The very difficult problem of the distribution of customs revenue among the component political units in proportion either to population or volume of trade or on some other workable hypothesis.

On the adequate and speedy solution of these problems, and on the creation of such a political machinery as will revive village and district autonomy, and will, at the same time, erect there-upon a federal system compatible alike with the utmost practicable freedom of action to local legislatures and with a strong and one pointed central executive, free from the influence of caucuses and responsive and responsible to the Central Legislature and the general public opinion, will depend the contentment and progress of Indian India as well as of British India.

Indian Political Theories*

[The present *impasse* in which we in India find ourselves is a serious matter for deep and careful consideration. The redhot politicians have spread out for themselves a scheme of propoganda and a line of work which are topics of anxious thought among the wider public. All this is due to the system of education we have been pursuing in India—a system whose authors have completely ignored the well established background of national culture and national thought which formed the rich and valuable heritage of the East. Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M. A., that great thinker, politician and statesman of Ceylon, has put the Indian ideal in a nut-shell. He says:— “The pupil is not regarded as an ignorant, weak and corrupt person, to whom the blessing of knowledge is brought from outside, but as one essentially, in his true self, wise and pure and strong, who is hidden by a cloud, on the lifting of which he shines in his innate, divine glory.” The patriotic and national Ceylon Knight is clear and pointed in his wise observation when he proceeds, “all education aims at the removal of the barriers behind which the infinite tide is waiting to express itself. We have to learn the proper way to unlock the gate and let the water in.” Brought up under the meshes of Western thought and Western culture for a fairly long period of our modern history, “we have,” says Sir Ponnambalam, “in great measure neglected our own traditions and ideals, and there is some risk that we may not reap the full benefit of the new culture for lack of its being properly assimilated and made part of our life-blood.” The italics are mine. I cannot help quoting another beautiful sentence of Sir Arunachalam expressed with a religious and political fervour which no one can fail to appreciate. He says:— “The training of the young is surrounded with something of the awefulness of a sacrament, and those who labour amid much hardship and drudgery in this sanctified field deserve a high place among the ministers of nature and the fullest recognition from the community”. This magnificent sentiment has found an echo in Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar who says in the course of his present paper that “nothing that is not evolved from within and is not in harmony with inherited as well as individual traditions will be characteristic or essentially fit to

* Being the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri Lectures, 1936—37, by Sachivothama, Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E.,

live". He proceeds, "owing to our natural anxiety to utilise the new opportunities which have come to us, we have perhaps overlooked, if we have not disdained, our past tradition and history." This is a view which will be easily endorsed by all thinking men in India. "My endeavour, therefore," says Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, "has been to try and to find out how far in the various departments of political and socio-economic theory we can get guidance from our own heritage of speculation and action." After stating this basic and fundamental principle on which intellectual development in India has advanced in all directions, Sir Ramaswami Aiyar examines the various political theories propounded and acted upon in India, impressing on the readers that "the theories and forms of central government, the gubernatorial charges and the village administration which were, at least in Southern India, characterised by a remarkable spirit of co-operation and displayed great vigour in the local units were features that enabled the Vijayanagar kings to consolidate and maintain their empire. But what was most remarkable about these wise rulers and is most instructive to us at present was their attempt to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Mahomedans not only by promoting harmony between the royal houses professing these two religions but by the practice distinctly proclaimed and realistically developed by the Vijayanagar Emperors of enlisting Mahomedans in Hindu service and fostering the interests of Islam in that great Hindu Empire. To such an extent did this harmony go that, when Aliya Rama Raja who flourished in the 16th century lost one of his sons, his wife is stated to have adopted Sultan Ali Adil Shah as her son. Not only did the Hindu kings build mosques and entertain Muslims in their service but it is noticeable that the Vyasaraya Mutt received large donations from Mahomedan Rulers." It is not my intention to anticipate the valuable information contained in this learned paper which is re-published for the benefit of my readers. A. P. I.]

It is a high privilege for an *alumnus* of the University to be called upon to deliver this course of lectures, associated, as they are, with the name of one whose ripe culture and many-sided experience have enabled him so consummately to fill the role of the unofficial ambassador of India.

Casting about for an appropriate subject, it occurred to me that it might be helpful, especially at this juncture, to gather and to collate some of the political and economic ideas that have been evolved in the India of the past. As early as 1928 when I

was honoured by the University of Mysore with an invitation to deliver a lecture on Federation—a conception which was then only slowly emerging into life in India—I discovered a great deal of important and interesting material in our Nitisastras and our Puranas bearing on political life and political forms commonly supposed to have originated and undoubtedly developed vigorously in Western lands. It struck me then that a careful study of our sources would be of assistance not only to the student and the philosopher but also to the man of affairs. After all, it is very true, in the words of the poet, that each age is a dream that is dying or one that is coming to birth. Is it not also manifest that the ideas and ideals of each country as they progress from age to age have and indeed ought to have something racy in them and that in politics as well as in literature and the arts, nothing that is not evolved from within and is not in harmony with inherited as well as individual traditions will be characteristic or essentially fit to live? To-day, we are producing and putting to practical use new constitutions. New thoughts are thundering at our doors and while we shall do well, as throughout our history, ever to be tolerant and hospitable to fresh views, nevertheless, we must also be alive to the need for assimilating them with our own culture and we may as well imitate the wise gardener when, for improving the yield, he skilfully inserts a graft. It is with this object that I concluded that it is not a work of supererogation to bring together in short compass some of the multiform theories that have been adumbrated in our country during many centuries. A great French critic, Henri Taine, declared: “*Quand on veut comprendre un art, il faut regarder l'âme du public auquel il s'adressait.*” Although this was said of art, it is equally true of a nation's philosophy and politics that they are outward expressions of national culture and sentiment and they use the symbols best understood in the country of origin. They bespeak an acquaintance with national life and thought. Our

political ideas are a function of our intellectual and civic life and it may not be out of place to remember that during many millennia we have had a succession of thinkers who, like the medieval Churchmen in Europe, were founders and partakers of what may accurately be called a University tradition and an educational system which in India as in Europe until recent times was based on and culminated in religious training but included also in its scope an attempt at universal research born of catholic sympathies and curiosities.

The term Upanishad meant etymologically sitting near a person and is the exact synonym of the French Seance or Session. The Upanishads represent the outcome of sittings or gatherings which took place in the hermitages and forests. They not only profoundly influenced Indian thought and through China and Persia, all Asiatic thought, but filtered to Europe through Persia, Arabia and Asia Minor and left their impress on Thales and Pythagoras and the Gnostics and Neo-platonists and through the Universities of the middle ages and through Machiavelli, Descartes, Spinoza and Schopenhauer have become part of most European culture. These latter have been the progenitors of much of our modern thought and much, in truth, of the recent speculations of Freud and Jung as to psycho-analysis recalls the processes of Yoga regimen. It must be recollected that the University of Nalanda, over two thousand years ago, as we know from recent researches and the curriculum of that University as outlined by Hiuen Tsang, was a real teaching institution with a wide outlook, although its function was primarily religious. It enabled the students, in the words of a recent writer, "to form each other and it performed a most important function, namely, learning the great art of living and helping to form an intelligent society." The comprehensiveness of the studies at Nalanda and Valabhi and Vikramasila as well as Kanchipura was not rivalled in the early Universities of the West, Paris, Bologna and Salerno.

Nalanda which flourished in the early years of the Christian era was visited by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang and it not only attracted learned men from different parts but the members of the University had even academic costumes as all the Pandits wore a red cap with pointed peak and long lappets. So universal was the appeal of these seats of learning that a Buddhist scholar from Kanchipura, Acharya Dingnaga, was, it may be remembered, thus referred to by Kalidasa in *Meghasandesa*:¹

“दिङ्गनागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलोपान्”

i. e. “avoiding the buffets of Dingnaga on the way.” The line has a double meaning and hints at the exploits of Dingnaga who was a contemporary and critic of Kalidasa and subjected him to attacks which provoked the great poet to sarcasm in the Dunciad style. Controversy was not in those days a gentle affair. This Dingnaga was also the father of medieval logic and he taught at this University. The influence of such institutions and seats of learning was far wider than is generally supposed. In the history of the English people, Green proves that it was owing to the influence of the Crusades that a new fervour of study sprang up in Europe by the contact with the more civilised East attained by travellers who brought back science and philosophy from the schools of Bagdad and Cordova into the early European seats of learning like Paris, Salerno and Bologna, which were the precursors of Oxford and Cambridge. These European Universities were, therefore, in effect the products of the learning which extended from Central Asia to Spain and had celebrated nuclei in Samarkand and Bokhara, Fez and Cordova. In Southern India, Kanchipura as the home of Sanskrit learning and Madura as the seat and centre of Tamilian culture also exercised a profound influence on world thought. It is in such abodes of culture as well as in the realistic university of actual life and in the courts

1. *Meghasandesa*, I, 14.

of discerning monarchs that Nitisastras like those of Chanakya and Kamandaka and Sukra were produced. The tradition therefore of political discussion and speculation has been longstanding and widespread.

The lineage of ideas is indeed a marvellous thing to contemplate and in a most suggestive lecture delivered at the Calcutta University Institute by one who was an active politician of Ceylon as well as a profound scholar and man of religion, Sir P. Arunachalam, it was pointed out that in the *Harsha Charita* of Bana occurs a passage relating to a royal visit paid in the seventh century A. D. to a Forest University. As the king approached the institution he left his suite behind and proceeded on foot attended by a few of his vassals. While still at a distance the king perceived a large number of "Buddhists from various provinces, perched on pillows seated on rocks, dwelling in bowers of creepers, lying in thickets or in the shadow of branches, or squatting on the roots of trees—devotees dead to all passions, Jains in white robes, mendicants, ascetics, followers of Krishna, Lokayatikas (Materialists), followers of Kanada (Atomic School), followers of Upanishads, students of legal institutions, students of the Puranas, adepts in sacrifices, adepts in grammar, followers of Pancharatra and others besides, all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts, resolving them, expounding etymologies and disputing, discussing and explaining most points".² Can there be a more thought-provoking and suggestive description of a true University with no exclusions and only preferences ?

It has been our good fortune to be brought into touch with the currents of Western thoughts and speculation and we have been under their influence for nearly a century in our Universities. Owing to our natural anxiety to utilise the new opportunities which have come to us, we have perhaps overlooked, if we have

2. *Harshacharita*, Fuhrer's Edition, p. 316.

not disdained, our past traditions and history. There is a great danger of our not securing the full benefit of the newer culture for lack of proper assimilation. Should it not be our aim to build on the foundations of our own accumulated lore and inherited stock of capacities and temperament, a stately and enduring structure with the full aid of Western learning and science and thus to develop our own soul? Especially is this process called for in the study and practice of politics, an art and a science more intimately connected with national aptitudes and national outlook than almost any other. What is in the bone cannot be eliminated and, as pointed out recently by a discerning thinker, the author of the "Dangerous Sea", one realises with a shock the cyclic character of life and of ideas. The French proverb "*plus ça change plus c'est la même*" "the more it changes, the more essentially same it remains" is not a mere piece of blasé cynicism. The whole history of the French Revolution, its rise and fall, and the dictatorship which followed it, as the author of the "Dangerous Sea" indicates, constitute really a transplanted chapter of Roman history. The Fascists, the Spartacists and the Nazi revolution of our own times have also had their prototypes in the past. The curious student may also discover analogies between certain developments of communism at the present moment and similar phenomena which are observed by the compilers of the Puranas, not to mention incidents in the history of the later Roman Empire and the Middle Ages. It was in these so-called dark ages that there arose the idea of a League of Nations fulfilling the functions which were part of the programme of the Holy Roman Empire and which were elaborated by medieval theorists both regal and private who strove to bring about an effective policing of the nations. No nation building its future political habitation can afford to ignore its past racial culture or the lessons of its history. My endeavour, therefore, has been to try and to find out how far in the various departments of political and socio-

economic theory we can get guidance from our own heritage of speculation and action. In this task which naturally involves considerable labour, I am immeasurably indebted to that well-known scholar of Travancore, Mahakavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, who is largely responsible for enabling me to place these materials before the University, as also to my son C. R. Pattabhiraman. I was stimulated to perform this task after I read the scholarly analysis of the social and political life in the Vijayanagara Empire which we owe to the research of Dr. Saletore and, later, it became necessary for me to deal with one aspect of the subject in its practical application when I was endeavouring, as Head of the Administration of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and for reasons connected with the formulation and carrying out of His Highness' historic Temple Entry Proclamation, to discover the sources and methods of legislation in the old days. I then saw that the monarch who, in the Code of Manu, is described as embodying in himself the four ages, was understood by the medieval philosopher, Sukra, to be the maker of the age so that if customs, usages, and movements are not assimilated to the needs of the times the fault is said to lie in the king himself. Sukra avers that "the king is the maker of the age as the promulgator of duties and sins. He is the cause of the setting on foot of the customs and usages and hence is the cause or maker of the times". The same principle of politics and social legislation was enunciated by Bhishma in the Santiparva thus: "Whether it is the king that makes the age or the age that makes the king, is a question about which you should not entertain any doubt. The truth is that the king makes the age". As Dr. Saletore aptly observes in the book to which I have already alluded, national regeneration was regarded by the great kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty as achievable only when the Ruler created the proper environment both political and cultural. It is evident that other Rulers of whom there are records in our

sacred and secular literature from which we can construct a fairly coherent political philosophy have adopted the same view—a view which may be made suitable to modern times and conditions. Beginning with the times prior to recorded history, we find as an indisputable fact that the evolution of what are termed Kerala Acharas is a conclusive proof of the flexibility of ancient law-givers and pristine laws. It is incontestable that there are laws, customs and observances prevalent among the Namputiris on the West coast which are not followed by the Brahmins of other parts of the present day, which furnish clear evidence that the Hindu Acharas or laws have been modified to suit special or local conditions. The form of marriage known as Sarvasvadanam which is not recognised by the Mitakshara, the adoption of a son in the Dvamushyayana form as the son of two fathers (the natural and the adopted), the difference in the custom regarding the marriage of girls, the absence of any rigid insistence on the early marriage of women under penalty of forfeiture of caste—obviously a later innovation in Hindu law forced on the people on account of foreign invasions and the insecurity of the times, the possibility of a woman remaining unmarried to the end of her days, the modification of the rule that every male should marry within his own cast in order to lead a Grhastha life, the importance given in worship and ritual to Tantras as distinguished from the Mantras,—all these and many other differences in social usages, etiquette and practices, relating to daily life which taken together distinguish the Acharas of Parasurama's country indicate that there was no crystallisation of social or even religious law and practice and that there was abundant scope for changes to meet altered situations and conditions. This policy was not confined to pre-historic ages but was followed even later, as was triumphantly demonstrated by what is historically known regarding Ramanuja's gospel and that of the Tenkalai saints by their adoption of Tamil as a concurrent sacred language with Sanskrit, their remodelling of the

society of their days by virtue of a process of religious fusion and the consequent and inevitable unification of sects and communities. We notice attempts actively supported and fostered by the sacerdotal castes during the reign of the Vijayanagar kings for the purpose of bringing about State regulations enabling the Ruler to deal with problems of social growth and adaptation. It is proved that the Brahmins of a prominent part of the Vijayanagar Empire went to the extent of seeking the active assistance of the State for implementing an agreement which they themselves had made for the purpose of dealing with the pernicious dowry system. In 1424-25 we learn that a concordat was arrived at by representatives of the Kannadika, Tamil, Telugu and Lata communities laying down that those who do not adopt *Kanyadana*, that is, those who give away a girl after receiving gold and those who conclude a marriage after giving gold, shall be punished by the king. This document bears the signature of the great men of all branches of sacred studies in the kingdom.³

The author of the *Sukraniti* asserts that the Ruler has been made a servant of the people getting his revenue as remuneration, and that his sovereignty is for protection. It was from this point of view that the great Krishnadeva Raya set before himself the difficult task of the protection of what he considered to be the Hindu Dharma. The theories as to the division of responsibility as between the king and the ministers and the limitation on the authority of the king were very elaborately developed by the two Madhavas that flourished in Vijayanagar. The theories and forms of central government, the gubernatorial charges and the village administration which were, at least in Southern India, characterised by a remarkable spirit of co-operation and displayed great vigour in the local units were features that enabled the Vijayanagar kings to consolidate and maintain their empire. But

³ 3. Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire, Volume II, p. 189.

what was most remarkable about these wise rulers and is most instructive to us at present was their attempt to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Mahomedans not only by promoting harmony between the royal houses professing these two religions but by the practice distinctly proclaimed and realistically developed by the Vijayanagar Emperors of enlisting Mahomedans in Hindu service and fostering the interests of Islam in that great Hindu Empire. To such an extent did this harmony go that when Aliya Rama Raja who flourished in the 16th century lost one of his sons, his wife is stated to have adopted Sultan Ali Adil Shah as her son.⁴ Not only did the Hindu kings build mosques and entertain Muslims in their service but it is noticeable that the Vyasaraya Mutt received large donations from Mahomedan Rulers.

The Chola kings Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga I also definitely laid down rules for the settlement of communal problems which then arose mainly with reference to marriages and on occasions when some of the so-called lower classes claimed equality with the higher classes as regards marriage, and certain honours and privileges.⁵ On some of these occasions the Hindu kings even appointed mediators vested with exceptional powers and privileges to deal with socio-religious problems.

According to our law-givers it is, in fact, not open to a king to take shelter under the plea that he is living in the Kali Yuga, the decadent age, and hence is unable to uphold the basic ideals based on righteousness. The Mahabharata explains, as has been indicated above, that it is the king that makes the age, and that the view that the age makes the king is incorrect.⁶

4. Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire, Volume I, pp. 407-408.
5. Social Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire, Vol. II, pp. 192-193.
6. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 69.

Origin of Kingship

There are certain passages in ancient Hindu Literature pointing to a condition of society without a king. In the *Aitareya Brahmana*, it is stated:—“The Devas and the Asuras were fighting The Asuras defeated the Devas The Devas said: ‘it is on account of our having no chief that the Asuras defeat us. Let us create a King’. All agreed”.⁷ The political evolution of Rgvedic India according to Radha Kumud Mookerji may be traced in the following ascending series of groups, viz., (1) the family (kula), (2) the village (grama), (3) the clan (vis), (4) the people (jana), and (5) the country (rashtra).⁸ A family was composed of several members living under a common head. An aggregate of several families made up a village. *Vis* was a larger formation implying

“कालो वा कारणं राज्ञो राजा वा कालकारणम् ।
इति ते संशयो मा भूद् राजा कालस्य कारणम् ॥”⁹

“देवासुरा वा पुषु लोकेषु समयतन्त्... तांस्ततोऽसुरा अजयन्... देवा अब्रवन्,
अराजतया वै नो जयन्ति राजानं करवामह इति; तथेति ।”

settlement, while *Jana* was even a more comprehensive term, embracing as it did the entire population occupying a particular area which subsequently converted it into a *Rashtra* or State. Society in those days had to keep itself in constant readiness for combat not only to quell external aggression but also internal dissension, and the origin of the *Rajanya* (Kshatriya) class has to be traced to this circumstance. The invocation of the blessings of unseen powers through an adept agency was a necessary incident of that arrangement and this gave rise to the Brahmins as a distinct class. The bulk of the Aryan community not included in either of these categories were known as the *vis*

7. *Aitareya Brahmana* (Anandasrama Edition), Book I, Chapter 3 :

8. R. K. Mookerji's *Hindu Civilisation* (1936), page 78. Mookerji is not sure who the *Vis* are. It seems to me that they are the bulk of the Aryans, excluding Brahmanas and Rajanyas.

or Vaisyas, while the exigencies of conquest led to the absorption of numerous non-Aryans into the Aryan fold, who eventually became Sudras.

Later Theories.

The Mahabharata narrates the following story on the origin of kingship. In ancient days men were ruined in consequence of the prevalence of anarchy. They devoured one another as stronger fish devour the weaker ones in water. A few men then assembled together and agreed among themselves that the bombastic, the cruel, the voluptuous and the greedy among them should be renounced. That arrangement worked for some time. Seeing that it was also not satisfactory, they approached Brahma with a prayer to grant them a king. Brahma thereupon induced Manu to take up the kingship. The people agreed to pay certain taxes and prayed that in return the king should destroy their enemies to enable them to lead peaceful lives.⁹ Bhishma, who relates this incident to Yudhishthira gives a slightly different version of the same in a previous chapter. He therein says that in the Krtayuga there were no sovereignty, no king, no punishment and no punisher, and that all men used to protect one another actuated by a sense of righteousness. They, however, soon found that this work was too much for them and became

9. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 67 :

“अराजकाः प्रजाः पूर्वं विनेशुरिति नः श्रुतम् ।
 परस्परं भक्षयन्ते मत्स्या इव जले कृशान् ॥
 समेत्य तास्ततश्चकुः समयानिति नः श्रुतम् ।
 वाक्शूरो दण्डपर्षो यश्च स्यात् पारजायिकः ॥
 यः परस्वमथादद्यात् त्याज्या नस्तादशा इति ।
 विश्वासार्थं च सर्वेषां वर्णानामवशेषतः ॥
 तास्तथा समयं कृत्वा समयेनावतस्थिरे ।
 सहितार्स्तांस्तदा जग्मुरसुखातांः पितामहम् ॥
 अनोधरा विनश्यामो भगवक्षीभरं दिश ।

gradually a prey to error (Noha), greed (Lobha), desire (Kama) and lust (Raga). When such confusion set in and righteousness perished, men sought the help of Brahma who thereupon composed a stupendous treatise on the *purusharthas*, of which the works of Brhaspati, Sukra, etc., were but abridgments. The Devas then prayed for a king to rule over men and Vishnu created Virajas. Virajas, however, did not relish the kingship conferred on him, and Ananga, his great-grandson, became the first king of Bharatavarsha.¹⁰ Both these stories show, as also the passage cited from the *Aitareya Brahmana*, that the Aryans had no ruler in the olden days and that kingship with them was regarded as a comparatively late institution. There are certain passages in the Vedas pointing to the king's divine origin

यं पूजयेम सम्भूय यश्च नः प्रतिपालयेत् ॥
 तमब्रुवन् प्रजा मा भः कतृनेनो गमिष्यति ।
 पश्चनामधिपञ्चाशाद्विरण्यस्य तथैव च ।
 धान्यस्य दशमं भागं दास्यामः कोशवर्धनम् ॥
 स त्वं जातवलो राजा दुष्पर्थ्यः प्रतापवान् ।
 सुन्ते धास्यसि नः सर्वान् कुबेर इव नर्कतान् ॥” १७-२६

'Matsyanyaya' has been explained by many writers.

Kamandaka says :

“परस्परामिष्यतया जगतो भिन्नवर्त्मनः ।
 दण्डाभावे परिष्वंसी मात्स्यो न्यायः प्रवर्तते ॥”

Nitisara (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) II, 40.

10. Mahabharatha, Santi, Chapter 59 :

“नैव राष्ट्रं न राजासीक्षच दण्डो न दाण्डिकः ।
 धर्मेणैव प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम् ॥ १४
 पाल्यमानास्तथान्योन्यं नरा धर्मेण भारत ।
 खेदं परमुपाजम्युस्ततस्तान् मोह आविशत् ॥ १५
 अथ देवाः समागम्य विष्णुमस्तुः प्रजापतिम् ।
 एको योऽर्हति मत्येभ्यः श्रेष्ठ वै तं समादिश ॥ ८७
 प्रजापतेः कर्दमस्य त्वनङ्गो नाम वै सुतः ।
 प्रजा रक्षयिता साधुर्दण्डनीतिविशारदः ॥ ९१

and this had become an accepted belief by the time Manu's Dharma Sastra was composed. Manu states that, when men were without a king and dispersed through fear in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of all of them and that the essence of the Dikpalas was used for his creation.¹¹

King's Divine Origin.

There is, however, no doubt that this was in reality a metaphorical description of the paramountcy of the monarch designed to enforce obedience from the subject. In a striking passage Kautalya says that the vulgar opponents of a king may be silenced by the argument that the duties of Indra (the rewarder) and Yama (the punisher) are blended in him and that, whoever disregards him, will be visited with divine punishment.¹²

The Buddhistic *Digha Nikaya* also says that mankind was righteous at the beginning and that on sinfulness gradually creeping into human society men selected one who was the most handsome, gracious and powerful among them and made him king. He was called Mahasamimata because he was selected by the great.¹³ From a passage in the *Aitareya Brahmana* it is seen that the Puro-

11. Manu, Chapter VII :

“अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् विद्वुते सर्वतो भयात् ।
रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत् प्रभुः ॥
इन्द्रानिलयमार्कणामपेश्व वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोऽचैव मात्रा निर्वृत्य शाश्वताः ॥ ३-४
बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।
महती देवता द्वेषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥” ८

12. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Trivandrum Edition Vol. I, p p. 63-64.

“मारस्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनु वैवस्वतं राजानं अक्रिये.....इन्द्रयमस्थान-
मेतद् राजानः प्रस्यक्षेहेऽप्रसादाः । तानवमन्यमानं दैवोऽपि दण्डः सृशति । तस्माद् राजानो
नावमन्तव्या इति क्षुद्रकान् प्रतिषेधयेत् ।”

13. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures (1918), page 121.
(H)

hita took a promise from the king to the following effect at the time of the Mahabhisheka (great coronation) ceremony: "Between the night I am born and the night I die whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny, may I be deprived of, if I oppress you."¹⁴ The ritual of the Rajasuya sacrifice described in the *Satapatha Brahmana* requires that the king should take the consent of the earth in the following words: "Mother Prthvi, Injure me not, nor I thee".¹⁵ The commentator interprets this passage as meaning that the king and the country must enter into friendly relations with each other like son and mother. Somadeva in his *Nitivakyamrta* states that the king should recite a hymn every day to the following effect :

" I am protecting this cow (earth) which bears the milk of the four oceans, whose calf is Dharma, whose tail is enterprise, whose hoofs are Varna and Asrama, whose ears are Kama and Artha, whose horns are diplomacy and valour, whose eyes are truth and purity, and whose face is law. I shall not be patient with any one who injures her."¹⁶

Sukra who also propounds the theory of the divine origin of kings is careful to explain at the same time that they only resemble Indra and other Gods in the performance of certain functions.¹⁷

14. Aitareya Brahmana, Book VIII, Chap. 4:

"यां च रात्रीमजायेऽहं यां च ग्रेतास्मि ; तदुभयमन्तरेणष्टापूर्ते मे लोकं सुकृतं सायुः प्रजां वृजीया यदि ते द्रुण्यम् ।"

15. Satapatha Brahmana, V, iv, 11-11.

16. Nitivakyamrta (Jainagranthamala edition) Page 256:

"ततुःपयोधिपयोधरां धर्मवत्सवतिमुखाहबालधि वर्णश्रमस्तुरां कामार्थश्रवणां नयप्रतापविष्णाणां सत्यज्ञौचचक्षुषं न्यायमुख्यमिमां गां गोपायामि ; तमहं मनसापि न सहे योऽपराध्येत् तस्यै इतिमं मन्त्रं समाधिस्थो जपेत् ।"

17. Sukranitisara, I, 73-77:

"भागभाग् रक्षणे दक्षो यथेन्द्रो नृपतिस्तथा ।
वायुर्गन्धस्य सदसत्कर्मणः ग्रेरको नृपः ॥

Some Limitations on Hereditary Sovereignty

Although the early rulers were elected, kingship in course of time became hereditary. But some vestiges of popular control are still visible in epic and puranic literature. The story of Prthu, one of the greatest of the early kings of India, as narrated in Srimad Bhagavata and Mahabharata, is worthy of note in this connection. Vena, a descendant of Ananga referred to already, was invested with regal power by Bhrgu and other sages, according to Bhagavata, when there was no king to govern men, although their choice was contrary to the will of the people. Vena, who like Charles I of England was a firm believer in the divine right of kings, and an atheist to boot, began to oppress his subjects. The sages thought that Vena was preying on his people as a serpent fed with milk bites the person who nourishes it and told him: "Righteousness is of supreme worth and compasses the welfare of the subjects. Do not suffer it to run to waste. If righteousness is lost, the kingdom and wealth of a king come to nought. The king who protects his people from thieves, etc., and gathers due tribute attains good fortune both in this world

धर्मप्रवर्तकोऽधर्मनाशकस्तमसो रविः ।
 दुष्कर्मदण्डको राजा यमः स्याद् दण्डकृद् यमः ॥
 अभिः शुचिस्तथा राजा रक्षार्थं सर्वभागभुक् ।
 पुष्पत्यपां रसैः सर्वं वर्णः स्वधनैर्नृपः ॥
 करैश्चन्द्रो हृलादयति राजा स्वगुणकर्मभिः ।
 कोशानां रक्षणे दक्षः स्याक्षिणीनां धनाधिपः ॥ ॥

These functions may be summed up as follows:—(1) Levying taxes and fully protecting the subjects (Indra); establishing virtue and eradicating vice (Vayu); spreading Dharma and dispelling Adharma (Surya); impartial administration of justice (Yama); realisation of revenue for public protection (fire); expenditure of revenue for the good of the public (Varuna); procuring means for the delight of the people (Chandra); and security and increase of national wealth (Kubera). (Vide Dr. Balakrishna's paper on the Evolution of the State in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, page 324). Sukra further proceeds to compare the king with a father (endowing virtue), mother (pardoning offences and nourishing), preceptor (teaching good lessons), brother (taking his share from the people's wealth), friend (confidant), etc.

and the next." Vena turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, whereupon he was slain by them and Prthu was created out of his arms.¹⁸

Prthu, according to the Mahabharata, asked the sages what he was expected to do, and on those assembled advising him that he should fearlessly perform all righteous acts, he promised to do so and became king.¹⁹ Other instances of the election of kings are also mentioned in the Mahabharata. Thus Kuru was elected on account of his virtue.²⁰ Again Janamejaya, although he was only a child, was installed as king by the people, on the death of Parikshit.²¹ Ordinarily the crown descended from

18. Srimadbhagavata (Kumbakonam edition), IV, Chapt 14;

“प्रकृत्यसम्मतं वेनमभ्यविच्छन् पतिं भुवः ।
अराजकभयादेव कृतो राजाऽतद्वर्णणः ॥ २
ततोऽप्यासीन्द्रयं त्वद्य कथं स्थात् स्वस्ति देहिनाम् ? ॥ ९
राजसाध्वमात्येभ्यश्चोरादिभ्यः प्रजा नृपः ।
रक्षन् यथाबलिं गृह्णश्चिह्नं ग्रेत्य च मोदते ॥ १७
हन्यतां हन्यतामेष पापः प्रकृतिदाशणः ।
नायमर्हत्यसदृशृतो नरदेववरासनम् ।
इत्थं व्यवसिता हन्तुमृष्यो रूढमन्यवः ।
निजधनुहुङ्कृतवेनं हतमच्युतनिन्दया ” ॥ ३२-३४

In Harivamsa (V. 10) it is stated that the sages taunted Vena with the remark that he was acting contrary to the promise made by him at the time of his coronation

19. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 59 :

“ग्रन्मां भवन्तो वक्ष्यन्ति कार्यमर्थसमन्वितम् ।
तद्वर्हं वै करिष्यामि नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ १०२
नियतो यत्र धर्मो वै तमशङ्कः समाचर ।
प्रियाप्रिये परित्यव्य समः सर्वेषु जन्तुषु ॥” १०३-४

20. Mahabharata, Adiparva, Chapter 94 :

“राजसेतं प्रजाः सर्वां धर्मेण हृति विविरे ।
तस्य नाश्चाभिविल्यातं पृथिव्यां कुरुजाङ्गलम् ॥” ४९

21. Mahabharata, Adiparva, Chapter 44 :

नृपं शिशुं तस्य सुतं प्रचक्रिरे समेत्य सर्वे पुरवासिनो जनाः ।” ६

father to the eldest son; but if that son was a minor, if a younger son had to be preferred to an elder, if an heir-apparent had to be ordained, or if an interregnum had to be avoided by the appointment of a temporary ruler, the express consent of the people was imperative. The same was the case in the event of a king's desire to abdicate. Thus Devapi, although he was the eldest son of Pratipa, was prevented by the people from succeeding him, as he was a leper, and Santanu had to be preferred by the father, much against his natural inclinations.²² Dasaratha proposed the anointment of Srirama as Yuvaraja after taking the people into his confidence and discussing the question with them in all its bearings.²³ Of nothing were our ancestors more afraid than anarchy and the consequent prevalence of the law of the fish. This fear has been portrayed by Valmiki in his own matchless way in Chapter 67 of the Ayodhyakanda. As soon as the sages came to know of Dasaratha's death, they approached Vasishtha and requested him to elect a king forthwith. Vasishtha, however, thought that nothing could be lost by awaiting the arrival of Bharata from Kekaya and despatch-

22. Mahabharata, Udyogaparva, Chapter 148 :

“तं ब्राह्मणाश्च बृद्धाश्च पौरजानपदैः पह ।
सर्वे निवारयामासु देवापेरभिर्बचनम् ॥ २२-३

23. Ramayana (Kumbakonam edition), Ayodhyakanda :

“नानानगरवास्तव्यान् पृथग् जानपदान्वि ।
यमानिनाय मेदिन्याः प्रधानान् पृथिवीपतीन् ॥ १-४५
यदीदं मेऽनुरूपार्थं मया नायु सुमन्वितम् ।
भवन्तो मेऽनुमन्यन्तां कथं वा करवाण्यहम् ॥
यद्यप्येषा मम प्रीतिर्हितमन्यद् विचिन्न्यताम् ॥ II. १५-१६
अनेकवर्षप्याहस्तो बृद्धस्वमसि पार्थिव ।
स रामं युवराजानमभिषिञ्चस्व पार्थिवम् ॥ II. २१
अय प्रकृतयः सर्वास्त्वामिच्छन्ति नराधिपम् ।
अतस्वां युवराजानमभिषेक्ष्यामि पुत्रक ॥ ” IV १६

ed swiftfooted messagers for fetching him therefrom.²⁴ Kautalya says that when a king dies in the land of an enemy, the chief minister should instal his son if he is possessed of amiable qualities, and if such a son cannot be had, even a bad prince, princess or even a pregnant woman, and tell the other ministers: "This is your pledge. Look to the father of the (boy) as well as to your own valour and descent; this (boy) is merely a flag, and yourselves are the lords; pray, how shall I act?", and that if he does so the other ministers will surely accede to his wish.²⁵ When Dhrtarashtra eventually decided to settle down in the forest ye took the consent of the people.²⁶

24. Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda, Chapter 67:

“एते द्विजाः सहामायैः पृथग् वाच्मुदीरयन् ।
वसिष्ठेवाभिमुखाः श्रेष्ठं राजपुरोहितम् ॥ ४
इक्ष्वाकूणामिहायैव कश्चिद् राजा विधीयताम् ।
अराजकं हि नो राष्ट्रं न विनाशमवान्नुयात् ॥ ७
यथा हनुदका नद्यो यथा वाप्यतृणं वनम् ।
अगोपाला यथा गावस्तथा राष्ट्रमराजकम् ॥” २९

Sukranitisara contains the observation that like Indrani who is never a widow, subjects should never be without a king:

“यथा न विश्वेन्द्राणि सर्वदा तु तथा ग्रजाः ॥” I. ९५

25. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. II, page 221:

“राजपुत्रमात्मसम्पन्नं राज्ये स्थापयेत् । सम्पत्ताभावे व्यसनिनं कुमारं राजकन्यां गर्भिणीं देवीं वा पुरस्कृत्य महामात्रान् सन्निपात्य ब्रूयात् — अयं वो निक्षेपः; पितरमस्यावेक्षध्वं सत्वाभिजनमाभ्यनश्च; ध्वजमात्रोऽयं; भवन्त एव स्वामिनः; कथं वा क्रियतामिति ॥”

26. Mahabharata, Asramavasaparva, Chapter VIII:

“ततः प्रतीतमनसो द्वाहणाः कुरुजाङ्गलाः ।
क्षत्रियाश्चैव वैश्याश्च शूद्राश्चैव समाययुः ॥
ततो निष्क्रम्य नपतिस्तस्मादन्तःपुरात् तदा ।
दद्देश तं जनं सर्वं सर्वाश्च प्रकृतीस्तथा ॥ ११-१२
अरप्यगमने बुद्धिर्गान्धीशसहितस्य मे ।
व्यासस्यानुमते राजस्था कुन्तीसुतस्य मे ॥
भवन्तोऽप्यनुजानन्तु मा च वो भूद् विचारणा ॥ १७-१८

Checks on Despotism

Apart from these rights which include the tacit assent of the people even in cases of regular succession, there were several other ways in which the king's possible leaning towards the exercise of unbridled authority was kept in check. In the first place, the right to oust an unrighteous king was emphasised although seldom exercised in practice in India. In the Anusasana Parva of the Mahabharata it is stated that a king who tells his people that he is their protector, but who does not or is unable to protect them, should be killed by his subjects in a body like a rabid dog.²⁷ In the Santiparva we come across a passage to the effect that a king who follows the advice of bad ministers and becomes a destroyer of righteousness deserves to be killed by his subjects with all his family.²⁸ The appellation ' Naradeva ', a God among men, applied only to virtuous kings. Sukra, in his Nitisara, has stated that, while a virtuous king is a part of the gods, a vicious king is a part of the devils.²⁹ Manu says that a king who does not afford protection but receives his tax will

27. Mahabharata, Anusasanaparva, Chapter 61:

“अहं वो रक्षितेत्युक्त्वा यो न रक्षति भूमिपः ।
स संहत्य निहन्तव्यः श्वेत सोन्माद आतुरः ॥” ३३

28. Mahabharata, Santiparva, Chapter 92:

“असत्पापिष्ठः न चिवो वध्यो लोकस्य धर्महा ।
स हेत्र परिवर्णेण क्षिप्रदेवावसीदति ॥ ९

An unrighteous king need not be obeyed (Ibid., 96).

अथ चेलुद्ग्रथेदेनां मर्यादां क्षत्रियब्रुवः ।
अनुदुर्लभेयस्तदूर्ध्वं स्यादनादेयश्च संसदि ॥” ९-१०

29. Sukranitisara, I. 70:

“यो हि धर्मपरो राजा देवांशोऽन्यश्च रक्षसाम् ।
अंशभूतो धर्मलोपी प्रजापीडाकरो भवेत् ॥

The Mahabharata has a similar passage in Udyogaparva, Chapter 131:

“राजा चरति चेद्दर्थं देवत्वायैव कल्पते ।
स चेदधर्मं चरति नरकायैव गच्छति ॥” १३

soon sink into hell and that he takes upon himself all the foulness of all his people.³⁰

King and Subject

The most common name used for a king in Sanskrit is Rajan. The Mahabharata says that seeing Prthu his subjects exclaimed "we love him", and on account of their loving attachment he was called Rajan.³¹ Kalidasa expresses the same idea in *Raghuvamsa* when he states that Raghu's appellation of Rajan became possessed of meaning when he made himself lovable to his subjects.³² If a king without doing violence to the dictates of righteousness does what is good to all his subjects he stands as firm as a rock,³³ and everybody thinks of him: "He is mine". Manu says that he should behave towards his subjects as a father to his children.³⁴ Kalidasa expands this idea in *Raghuvamisa* when he says that Dilipa was the real father of his people because he led them along the path of righteousness, protecting and feeding

30. Manu, VIII. 307-08

“योऽरक्षन् बलिभादते करं शुल्कं च पार्थिवः ।
प्रतिभागं च दण्डं च स सद्यो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥
अरक्षितारं राजानं बलिषद्भागहारिणम् ।
तमाहुः सर्वलोकस्य समग्रमलहारकम् ॥”

31. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 29:

“एषु वैत्यं प्रजा दृष्टा रक्ता स्मेति यदवृवन् ।
ततो राजेति नामास्य अनुरागादजायत ॥” १३९

The idea is repeated in Santi. Chapter 59, with reference to the same king:

“रजिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्दयते ।” १२५

32. *Raghuvamsa*, IV:

“यथा प्रह्लादनाञ्चन्द्रः प्रतापात् तपनो यथा ।
तथैव सोऽभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् ॥” १२

33. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 120:

“धर्माणामविरोधेन सर्वेषां प्रियमाचरेत् ।
ममायमिति राजा यः स पर्वत इवाचलः ॥” २४

34. *Manusmrti* (Nirnayasagara edition), Chapter VII. 80:

‘वर्तेत पितृवन्नृषु’

them.³⁵ It is also stated in the Mahabharata that he is the best of kings in whose realm every subject moves fearlessly as a son in the house of his father.³⁶ From the constant comparison instituted between the king and a father in ancient works, some scholars have come to the hasty and unwarranted conclusion that his position was that of a benevolent despot. This is by no means correct. The actual conception was that the king should live for his subjects and not for himself. It is stated in the Markandeyapurana that the prince was entitled to enjoy himself only up to the moment when the sacred *abbisheka* water fell on his head.³⁷ How the king should conduct himself thereafter is well explained in the Mahabharata by the observation that just as a mother who, even not caring for the objects which she likes best, seeks the well-being of her child alone, so the king should sacrifice what he loves best for securing the well-being of his subjects.³⁸

35. Raghuvamsha :

“प्रजानां विनयाधानाद् रक्षणाद् भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥ १-२४

36. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 57 :

“पुत्रा इत्र पितुर्गेहे विशये यस्य मानवाः ।
निर्भया विचरिष्यन्ति स राजा राजसत्तमः ॥” ३३

Kamandaka says that the king protects his people, while the people cause him to thrive, and that the former is more important than the latter, since, if the former were to disappear, the latter, even if it existed, would be an evil :

प्रजां संरक्षति नृपः सा वर्धयति पार्थिवम् ।
वर्धनाद् रक्षणं श्रेयस्तन्नाशोऽन्यत् सदप्यसत् ॥” १-१४

37. Markandeyapurana (Calcutta edition), Chapter 130:

“तावत् सुखं भूपतिजैर्भीर्गजं प्राप्यते नृप ! ।
अभिषेकजलं यावक्ष मूर्धिं विनिपात्यते ॥” २७

38. Mahabharata, Santi, 56:

“यथा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा स्वं प्रियं मनसाऽनुगम् ।
गर्भस्य हितमाधत्ते तथा राजाप्यसंशयम् ॥
वर्तितव्यं कुरुत्र्येषु सदा धर्मानुवर्तिना ।
स्वं प्रियं तु परित्यज्य यद्युक्तकहितं भवेत् ॥” ४५-६

The same idea is repeated in the Agnipurana.³⁹ In the Mahabharata it is stated that everywhere all the people from Brahmans to swains were more attached to Yudhishthira than to their own parents.⁴⁰ Kautalya says: "In the happiness of his subjects lies the king's happiness, in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."⁴¹ In a touching scene in the Asramavasaparva of the Mahabharata, Dhrtarashtra on the eve of his departure for the forest informs the people assembled as follows: "I make over to you this Yudhishthira as a pledge; I entrust you also as a pledge to Yudhishthira."⁴² Elsewhere in the same work it is stated that the king is the best body of his subjects and the subjects the best body of their king.⁴³ The eternal duty of the king is to make his subjects

39. Agnipurana (Calcutta edition), Chapter 222:

“नित्यं राजा तथा भाव्यं गर्भिणी सहधर्मिणी ।
यथा स्वं सुखमुत्सज्य गर्भस्य सुखमावहन् ॥” १८

40. Mahabharata, Sabha, Chapter 13:

“यत्र राजन् दश दिशः पितृतो मानृतस्तथा ।
अनुरक्ताः प्रजा आसन्नागोपाला द्विजातयः ॥” १८

41. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. I, page 97:

“प्रजासुखे सुखं राजः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राजः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥” १८

42. Mahabharata, Asramavasa, Chapter 9:

“अवश्यमेव कर्तव्यमिति कृत्वा ब्रवीमि वः ।
एष न्यासो मया दत्तः सर्वेषां वो युधिष्ठिरः ॥
भवन्तोऽन्यस्य वीरस्य न्यासभूताः कृता मया ।” १३

43. Mahabharata, Santi 97:

“राजा प्रजानां प्रथमं शरीरं
प्रजाश्च राज्ञोऽप्रतिमं शरीरम् ।” ५९

In the Agnipurana, Chapter 220, it is stated that the king should do such acts as are liked by his subjects and desist from such acts as are likely to cause displeasure to them:

“अनुरागकरं कर्म चरेद्यज्ञाद् विरागजम् ।
जनानुरागया लक्ष्या राजा स्याजनरञ्जनात् ॥” २४

happy.⁴⁴ If he performs the duty of protecting his subjects well, no other penance or sacrifice is needed for him.⁴⁵ Manu says that a king who protects his subjects righteously and punishes the wicked duly offers sacrifices at which lakhs are given as fees.⁴⁶ Kautalya expresses the same idea when he says: “The religious vow of a king is his readiness for action; the discharge of duties is the performance of his sacrifice; and equal treatment of all is his offer of fee and ablution at consecration.⁴⁷ Somadeva also points out that the sacrifice to be performed by a king is the protection of his subjects and not the killing of animals (which is incidental to ordinary sacrifices)⁴⁸.

Protection

“Paripalanam” or all-round protection is an expression embracing a very wide meaning. It is not merely the preservation of law and order. It is the administration of the State in such a degree of perfection as to enable the king and every one of his subjects to pursue undisturbed the paths of Dharma, Artha and Kama. The king himself is to be the exemplar of his subjects,

Again it is emphasised in Chapter 224 of the same work that a king's kingship, kingdom and treasury are born of his people's love:

“जनानुरागप्रभवा राज्ञो राध्यमहिश्रियः ।” ३४

44. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 57:

“लोकरञ्जनमेवात्र राज्ञां धर्मः सनातनः ।” ११

45. Ibid., Chapter 69:

“किं तस्य तपसा राज्ञः किं च तस्याध्वरेरपि ? ।

सुपालितप्रजो यः स्यात् सर्वधर्मविक्रेव सः ॥” ७३

46. Manu, VIII:

“रक्षन् धर्मेण भूतानि राजा वध्यांश्च धातयन् ।

यजतेऽहरहर्यज्ञैः सहस्रशतदक्षिणैः ॥” ३०६

47. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. I, page 97:

“राज्ञो हि व्रतमुथानं यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम् ।

दक्षिणा वृत्तिसाम्यं च दीक्षितस्याभिषेचनम् ॥”

48. Nitivakyamrta, page 273:

“प्रजापालनं हि राज्ञो यज्ञो न पुनर्भूतानामालम्भः ।”

since whatever Dharma is respected by him will be respected everywhere and since the subjects will generally like to move only along the path trodden by him.⁴⁹ Righteousness should, therefore, be first practised by him before he enforces it on his subjects. The king, according to the Mahabharata, was created in order that righteousness might emanate from him, and that, if he was devoid of it, he should be called a Vrshala.⁵⁰ One becomes a king for advancing the cause of Dharma and not for acting capriciously. All creatures depend on Dharma, and Dharma depends on the king. He is, therefore, the true king who main-

49. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 75:

“राजा हि पूजितो धर्मस्ततः सर्वत्र पूज्यते ।
यददाचरते राजा तत् प्रजानां हि रोचते ॥” ४

Kamandaka says that, if a king discharges his duty justly, he procures “Trivarga for both himself and his subjects, but kills it otherwise:

“न्यायप्रवृत्तो नृपतिरास्मानमथ च प्रजाः ।
त्रिवर्गेणोपसन्धते निहन्ति भ्रुवमन्यथा ॥” I. १५

In Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda, Chapter 109, Srirama says:

“यद्वृत्ताः सन्ति राजानस्तद्वृत्ताः सन्ति हि प्रजाः ।” ९

50. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 90:

“उभौ लोकावभिग्रेक्ष्य राजानमृषयः स्वयम् ।
असुजन् सुमहद् भूतमथ धर्मो भविष्यति ॥
यस्मिन् धर्मो विराजेत तं राजानं प्रचक्षते ।
यस्मिन् विलीयते धर्मस्तं देवा वृपलं विदुः ॥
वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मो यस्तस्य कुरुते हालम् ।
वृपलं तं विदुर्देवास्तस्माद्दूर्मं विवर्धयेत् ॥” १४-१६

Kamandaka says that the king should first practise self-content. He should then impose it on his ministers, next on his servants, next on his children, and lastly on his subjects:

“आत्मानं प्रथमं राजा विनयेनोपपाद्येत् ।
ततोऽमात्यांस्ततो भृत्यांस्ततः पुत्रांस्ततः प्रजाः ॥” I. २३

This verse is repeated by Sukra (I. 93), who further says that a king's precept without practice is useless;

tains Dharma.⁵¹ The question what is Dharma has been clearly answered in Chapter 109 of Santiparva. Dharma is what is conducive to the advancement of everybody, what prevents injury to everybody, and what is capable of upholding everybody. It need not be precisely what is stated in the Vedas, because everything has not been ordained in them.⁵²

Administration

From the earliest days of which we have any record, it seems obvious that the Indian village organization was always powerful and generally self-governing; and like the City States of Greece and of medieval Italy, these villages in India had often their own military equipment and officers. At the same time, it is equally clear that, just as obtained till recently under the Soviet Constitution and is easily discernible under cover of the authoritarian constitutions of Italy and Germany, an oligarchy or aristocracy under different forms, seemed always to force itself to the front in ancient and medieval India. This is not surprising for even in the

“परोपदेशकुशलः केवलो न भवेन्नपः । ”

51. Ibid:

“धर्माय राजा भवति न कामकरणाय तु ।
धर्मे तिष्ठन्ति भूतानि धर्मे राजनि तिष्ठति ।
तं राजा साधु यः शास्ति स राजा पृथिवीपतिः ॥ ३-५

52. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 109:

“प्रभवार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।
यः स्यात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥
धारणाद् धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मेण विधृताः प्रजाः ।
यः स्याद्वारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥
श्रुतिर्धर्म इति हेके नेत्याहुरपरे जनाः ।
नच तत् प्रल्यसूयामो नहि सर्वं विधीयते ॥” १०-१३

Karnaparva (Chapter 69) also contains a passage to the effect that Dharma is so called because it upholds the people.

“धारणादर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः । ”

The Brhadaranyakopanishad (I. iv) states distinctly that Dharma is the king of kings and that there is nothing higher than Dharma:

“तदेतत् क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद् धर्मस्तस्माद् धर्मात् परं नास्ति ।” १४

highly individualistic polity of the United States of America the aristocracy of wealth and of commerce takes the place of the aristocracy of birth and military prowess in Egypt, Greece and Rome. Thus, even in the case of the many republics whose names and achievements, are set out in the Vedic chronicles under the names of Vratas, Ganas and so forth, there was observable this system of elder statesmen and noblemen.

In certain places we find mention not only of ministers or Amatyas and Sachivas, but ministers are sometimes even called Rajakartarah in the Buddhistic texts as having been vested with power to elect a new king. The Mahabharata mentions in the Santiparva a list of 54 members, of a variety of Legislative Council, selected on a caste basis, in which there was less representation of the Brahmins and the warrior castes than that of the commercial men; four Brahmins, eighteen Kshatriyas, twenty-one Vaisyas, three Sudras and eight ministers composed the body. The net result was that the warrior classes and the commercial classes, if they did or could combine, had the legislative authority and it is noticeable that those at the top and the bottom of the social ladder, namely, the Brahmins and the Sudras had very small representation. In actual fact we learn that the warriors and traders served as a mutual counterpoise. The Executive Council or the inner council consisted of eight Amatyas whose functions and portfolios are described in the Ayodhyakanda of the Ramayana and the Santiparva of the Mahabharata.

When we pass away from the earliest times, monarchy became more and more civil in character and was neither based on the patriarchal theory nor on military primacy. Whatever the effect of such a teaching was and however little the teaching was followed in ancient times (or in the modern days of disarmament conferences), we find to our astonishment that Brhaspati has laid down that a king should, as far as possible, refrain from war for

annexing territories. Moreover, consultation of popular opinion was a live feature of the post-Vedic kingship. At the time of the coronation, subjects were consulted as well as feudatory chiefs and princes.⁵³ Kingship, therefore, partook in those days the nature of a *quasi-constitutional* monarchy. In the south of India, we have a fairly complete account of administration by the kings in the Chola days and they, like their contemporaries in the north, ruled through an elaborate secretariat organisation with eight heads of departments; but the main feature of governments in the south was the very healthy development and organisation of village assemblies which were the nuclei of governmental activity. These assemblies had both consultative and executive functions and were in charge of temples and charities, collected the taxes, managed the tanks and were in charge even of currency operations. They worked through committees which were of an elective character and it is remarkable that not only do their rules lay down knowledge of business and honesty as requisite for membership, but they also insist on property qualification and emphasise that the relatives of dishonest officers were to be disqualified from membership. These "Nadus" were aggregated in Kottams and Mandalams which became provinces in the Chola empire.

That bureaucracy throughout the ages develops along similar lines is evident from the elaborate rule as to privilege leave contained in the *Sukranitisara* and as to pensions and compassionate allowances in the case of premature death of officers. Indian diplomacy, it may be added, did not overlook cypher writing and codes and largely used espionage as described elaborately by *Kautalya*.

53. *Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda*, 1, 45:

"नानानगरत्वास्तव्यान् पृथग् जानपदानपि ।"

Taxation

Sukra says that tax is the price for protection paid by the subjects to the king who is only their servant, though he appears to be their lord.⁵⁴ The king has to openly admit this position when he addresses his army on the eve of a battle, as may be seen from an observation of Kautalya when he says: “ I am a paid servant like yourselves; this country is to be enjoyed by me together with you; you have to strike the enemy specified by me ”.⁵⁵ Markandeyapurana also contains a passage to the effect that the tax received by a king is the salary drawn by him for protecting his subjects.⁵⁶ Manu says that the king derives not only one-sixth of the tax in grain but also of the righteousness and unrighteousness of his subjects.⁵⁷

In order that the subjects might pursue their occupations peacefully and earn a sufficient competence for pursuing the other two Purusharthas included in Trivarga, it was imperative that the tax imposed on them should not be heavy. In the Mahabharata it is observed: “A king should milk his kingdom like a bee collecting honey from trees. He should act like the cowherd who takes milk from a cow without injuring her udder and without starving the calf. He should, like the leech, take

54 Sukranitisara, I. 188:

स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः कृतः ।

ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥ ”

55 Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. III Page 115:

“तुत्यवेतनोऽरिम, भवद्भिः सहभोग्यमिदं राज्यं; मयाभिहितः
परोऽभिहन्तव्यः ।”

56. Markandeyapurana, Chapter 69:

“त्वं रक्षिता नो नृपते ! षड्भागादानवेतनः ।

धर्मस्य तेन निश्चिन्ताः स्वपन्ति मनुजा निशि ॥ ” २४

57. Manu VIII, 304:

“सर्वतो धर्मषद्भागो राज्ञो भवति रक्षतः ।

अधर्मादपि षड्भागो भवस्यस्य ह्यरक्षतः ॥ ”

in the blood mildly. He should treat his subjects like a tigress carrying her cubs, touching them with her teeth but never biting them. He should behave like a mouse which, although it has sharp and pointed teeth, nibbles at the feet of sleeping animals in such a manner as to keep them unaware of it".⁵⁸ Again, it is laid down that the tax should vary according to the capacity of the tax-payer. No tax should be levied without determining the outturn and the amount of labour needed for production, because no one can be expected to work without incentive.

Some Duties of the King.

The Kachchit Sargas of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana contain numerous suggestive allusions to the duties of kings. Thus in the Mahabharata, Narada asks Yudhishtira whether agriculturists were being kept away, whether all men were not being allowed to approach the king without fear as if he were their father and mother, whether the cultivators were not contented, whether for purposes of irrigation large tanks filled with water were not being maintained at convenient distances, whether loans of seed-grain were not being advanced to agriculturists, whether officers in charge of the municipal and military departments, as also those of trade, agriculture and justice, were not working in unison, and whether villages were not being converted into towns and hamlets into villages.⁵⁹

58. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 88:

“मधुदोहं दुहेद् राष्ट्रं अमरा इव पादपम् ।
वस्तापेक्षी दुहेष्वैव स्तनांश्च न निकुट्येत् ॥
जलौकावत् पिबेद् राष्ट्रं मृदुनैव नराधिपः ।
व्याघ्रीव च हरेत् पुत्रान् सन्दशेष च पितृयेत् ॥
यथा शत्यकवानात्मुः पर्दं धूनयते सदा ।
अतीक्षणाभ्युपायेन तथा राष्ट्रं समापिबेत् ॥४-६

59. Mahabharata, Sabhaparva, Chapter V.

“क्षिद्यर्थेन वा धर्मं धर्मेणार्थेमथापि वा ।
उभौ वा श्रीतिसारेण न कामेन ग्रवाधसे ? ॥ १९

Kautalya mentions Utsavas and Samajas as popular institutions to be encouraged by the king.⁶⁰

Danda or Punishment.

The protection of subjects necessarily involves, as a correlative, the punishment of the wicked. There were very few cases of theft in ancient India. That is due to the fact that thieves were brought to book and the stolen property recovered promptly. Otherwise the king had to make good the value of that property from the State coffers. Even so late a writer as Vijnanesvara emphasised this duty.⁶¹

Ibn Battuta, the well-known Muhammadan traveller, referring to the conditions prevailing in Kerala in the second quarter of the 14th century, writes : "On this road which, as we have said, extends for a two months' march, there is not a foot of ground but is cultivated. . . . I have never seen a safer road than this, for they put to death anyone who steals a single nut, and if any fruit

कष्टित् त्वमेव सर्वस्याः पृथिव्याः पृथिवीपते ! ।
 समश्चानभिशङ्क्यश्च यथा माता यथा पिता ? ॥ ५६
 कष्टित् चोरैर्लुभ्यैर्वा कुमारैः क्षीबलेन वा ।
 त्वया वा पिड्यते राष्ट्रं ? कष्टित् तुष्टाः कृषीवलाः ? ॥
 कष्टिद् राष्ट्रे तट्यगानि पूर्णानि च वृहन्ति च ।
 भागज्ञो विनिविष्टानि ? न कृषिदेवमातृका ? ॥
 कष्टित् विजं भक्तं च कर्वकस्यावसीदति ।
 पादिकं च शतं वृद्ध्या ददास्युणमनुग्रहम् ?
 कष्टिच्छूराः कृतप्रज्ञाः पञ्च पञ्चस्वनुष्ठिताः ।
 क्षेमं कुर्वन्ति संहत्य राजन् जनपदे तत्र ?
 कष्टिन्नगरगुप्त्यर्थं ग्रामा नगरवत् कृताः ।
 ग्रामवद्ध कृता घोषास्ते च सर्वे त्वदर्पणाः ॥" ७६-८१

60 "यात्रासमाजोत्सवप्रवहणानि च दशवर्गिकाधिष्ठितानि गच्छेत् ।"

Kaut. I. p. 108:

61 "यदा त्वन्यतोऽपहतं द्रव्यं दापयितुं न शक्नोति तदा स्वकोशादेव राजा दद्याद् ।
 चोरहत्तमवजित्य यथास्थानं गमयेत्, स्वकोशाद् वा दद्यादिति गौतमस्मरणात् ।"

falls, no one picks it up but the owner. Indeed, we sometimes met infidels during the night on this road, and, when they saw us, they stood aside to let us pass. . . . In the Mulaybar (Malabar) lands, there are twelve infidel sultans; some of them strong with armies numbering fifty thousand men and others weak with armies of three thousand. Yet there is no discord whatever between them, and the strong does not desire to seize the possessions of the weak. At the boundary of the territories of each Ruler there is a wooden gateway on which is engraved the name of the ruler whose territories begin at that point. This is called the "Gate of Security" of such and such a prince."⁶²

A king should neither be too lenient nor too severe, but administer such punishment as may be deemed fit and proper. Kautalya says: "Whosoever imposes severe punishment becomes repulsive to the people while he who imposes mild punishment becomes contemptible. But whoever imposes punishment as deserved will be respected."⁶³ In the Mahabharata it is stated: "Although the most impregnable fortress of a king is the love of his subjects and it is therefore essential that he should be merciful, if he is always forgiving, the lowest of men may guide him as a mahout an elephant. Nor should he be ferocious. He should be like the vernal sun, neither too hot nor too cold".⁶⁴

62. Ibn Battuta's Travels, translated by H. A. R. Gibb, p. 232.

63. Kautalya, Vol. I, page 33:

"तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्देजनीयः; मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते; यथार्ददण्डः पूज्यः ।"

64. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 56:

"दुर्गेषु च महाराज षड्सु ये शास्त्रनिश्चिताः।

सर्वदुर्गेषु मन्यन्ते नरदुर्गं सुदुस्तरम् ॥ ३५

क्षममाणं नृपं निर्यं नीचः परिभवेन्ननः ।

हस्तियन्ता गजस्येव शिरं प्रवालस्त्रक्षतिः ॥

तस्माज्जेव मृदुनिर्यं तीक्ष्णो नैव भवेन्नृपः ।

वासन्तार्कं इव श्रीमान् न शीतो न च धर्मदः ॥ ३९-४०

This aphorism is very like what a medieval monarch demanded of a king, namely, that he should not be too salty lest he be spit out nor too sweet lest he be swallowed. Markandeyapurana says that the Kshatriyas take up arms in order that the oppressed may not weep or wail.⁶⁵ This part of the subject may well be concluded with the following amusing observation made in the Mahabharata, viz., "These six persons should be abandoned like a leaky boat on the sea, viz., a teacher who does not teach, a priest who does not study the scriptures, a king who does not afford protection, a wife who utters disagreeable words, a cowherd who wishes to live in a village and a barber who desires to live in a forest."⁶⁶

King and Ministers.

The activities of the State covered a very wide range. As observed by Dr. Beni Prasad: "While there was much which had been fashioned by other associations and on which the State could only set its *imprimatur*, the seal of its force, there was much else which it essayed to perform by means of its own resources. From time to time it elected to propagate Dharma, to inculcate and enforce morality, to maintain or improve the social order, to encourage learning, education and art, to subsidise various academies, to regulate industry and commerce, to foster agriculture, to relieve the distress from famine and other calamities, to establish hospitals, rest houses, charity halls, etc. All this it essayed to do in addition to its primary functions of defence, order and justice.⁶⁷ The seven constituent elements of the State

65. Markandeyapurana, Chapter 114:

"क्षत्रियैर्यथेते शस्त्रं नार्तशब्दो भवेदिति ।" ३६

Kalidasa expresses the same idea in Abhignanasakuntala, Act 1:

"आतंत्राणाय वः शस्त्रं न प्रहर्तुमनागसि ।" १०

66. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 57:

पडेतान् पुरुषो जहाद् भिक्षां नावमिवार्णवे ।

अप्रवक्त्तारमाचार्यमनधीयानमृत्विजम् ॥

अरक्षितारं राजानं भार्या चाप्रियत्रादिनीम् ।

ग्रामकामं च गौपालं वनकामं च नापितम् ॥

67. The State in Ancient India, page 505.

were (i) the king (Svami), (ii) the ministers (Amatyas), (iii) allies (Suhrat), (iv) treasure (Kosa), (v) territory (Rashtra), (vi) fortress (Durga) and army (Bala).⁶⁸ The ministers form an important and indispensable part of this constitution. The Mahabharata says that it is impossible for a king to look after all his duties and that hence he should devolve his duties on his ministers.⁶⁹ Kautalya also points out: "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence a king should employ ministers and hear their opinion".⁷⁰ Kautalya draws a distinction between Amatyas (Officers) and Mantrins (Councillors). Manu says that the king may appoint seven or eight ministers who are learned in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of arms, descended from noble families and well-tried. It is impossible for one man to discharge even an easy duty singly and

68. Manu varies the list slightly and substitutes capital (pura) for fortress, but really there is no difference, since what he means is a town enclosed by a fortress, as explained by Kullukabhatta:

“स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं * कोशदण्डौ सुहृत् तथा ।
सप्त प्रकृतयो ह्यताः सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ॥ XI. २९४

Kulluka:

“पुरं राज्ञः कृतदुर्गनिवासनगरं
दण्डो हस्त्यश्वरथपादातम् ।”

Their interconnection is explained by Sukra in a beautiful passage which means that the king is the root of the State, the councillors are the trunks, the commanders are the branches, the troops are the leaves and flowers, the subjects are the fruits and the lands are the seeds:

“राज्यवृक्षस्य नृपतिमूलं ; सकन्धाश्च मन्त्रिणः ।
शाखाः सेनाधिपाः; सेनाः पङ्गवाः कुसुमानि च ।
प्रजाः फलानि; भूभागा वीजं; भूमिः प्रकल्पिता ॥ ”

69. Mahabharata, Santi. 93:

“नेतान्येकेन शक्यानि सातत्येनानुवीक्षितुम् ।
तेषु सर्वं प्रतिष्ठाप्य राजा भुज्ञेत चिरं महिम् ” २६

70. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. I, page 40:

सहायसाध्यं राजत्वं ; चक्रमेकं न वर्तते; ।
कुर्वीत सचिवांस्तस्मात् तेषां च शृणुयान्मतम् ॥ ”

much less the duties relating to kingship. The king should therefore, hold deliberations with his ministers, ascertain each minister's opinion separately as also their conjoint opinion and then decide upon the course that may be the best. He should also appoint as many other officers as may be needed for the due transaction of business and see that they are honest, wise, firm, etc.⁷¹ Numerous other qualifications for ministers are enumerated in the Mahabharata and the Agnipurana.⁷² The Mahabharata says that a king who is angry at the advice tendered by a well-wisher, merely because his views are not to his taste, and who does not follow the conduct of the wise, deviates from the duty of a Kshatriya.⁷³ Kautalya states that a cabinet of ministers may consist of as many members as the needs of a kingdom call for, that they should start what is not begun, complete what is commenced, improve upon what has been accomplished, and enforce strict obedience to orders. He, further, observes that one thousand sages form Indra's cabinet of ministers and hence he

71. Manu, VII:

मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूरान् लङ्घलक्षान् कुलोद्भवान् ।
 सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परीक्षितान् ॥
 अपि यत् सुकरं कर्म तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ;
 विशेषतोऽसहायेन; किन्तु राज्यं महोदयम् ? ॥ ५.४-५.५
 तैः साध्यं चिन्तयेत्तियं
 तेषां स्वं द्वयमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।
 समर्तानां च कार्येषु विदध्याद्वितमात्मनः ॥ ५.७
 अन्यानपि प्रकुर्वीत शुचीन् प्राज्ञानवस्थितान् ।
 सम्यगर्थसमाहर्तृनमात्यान् सुपरीक्षितान् ॥” ६.०

72. Agnipurana, Chapter 238.

73. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 93;

“योऽर्थकामस्य वचनं प्रातिकूल्यान्न मृच्यते ।
 शृणोति प्रातिकूल्यानि सर्वदा विमना हव ॥
 अग्रास्यचरितां वृत्तिं यो न सेवेत सर्वदा ।
 लितानामजितानां च क्षत्रधर्मादपैति सः ॥” २९-३०

is called Saharaksha although he has only two eyes.⁷⁴ Somadeva insist on ministers giving correct advice to kings, although, for the time being, such advice may be distasteful to them. His commentator quotes a Smrtikara, Bhaguri, who is of the opinion that the minister who represents what ought to be done as untruth and what ought not to be done as truth is his enemy, though he puts on a minister's appearance. He asks ; "When a child refuses to drink milk, are not slaps given on its cheek ?" ⁷⁵ The king should not have one or even two ministers; three should be the lowest number of members of his cabinet.⁷⁶ At the same time he should himself look into matters affecting his subjects.⁷⁷ Somadeva advises the king not to act against the advice of his ministers.⁷⁸ He should not create a situation in

74. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. I, page 76 :

“यथासामर्यमिति कौटल्यः.....अकृतारम्भमारव्यानुष्ठानमनुष्ठित-
विशेषं नियोगसम्पदं च कर्मणां कुर्याः.....इन्द्रस्य हि मन्त्रिपरिषद्विणां सहस्रं स तत्त्वाक्षुः;
तस्मादिमं व्यक्तं सहस्राक्षमाहुः ।”

75. Nitivakyamrta, Page 123:

“स मन्त्री शत्रुयोर्नृपेच्छ्याऽकार्यमपि कार्यरूपतयानुशास्ति ।”

Bhaguri: (Ibid., page 123)

“अकृत्यं सत्यरूपं च सत्यं चाद्यसंक्षितम् ।

निवेदयति भूपस्य स वैरी मन्त्रिरूपघृक् ॥”

“वरं स्वामिनो दुःखं; न पुनरकार्योपदेशेन तद्विनाशः पियूपमपिबतो बालस्य किं
न क्रियते कपोलहननम् ? ।”

76. Ibid., page 127.

“एको मन्त्री न कर्तव्यः; एको हि मन्त्री निरवग्रहश्चरति मुहाति च कार्येण
कृच्छ्रेष्ठु । द्वावपि मन्त्रिणौ न कायौ; द्वौ मन्त्रिणौ संहतौ राज्यं विनाशो यतः? ॥”

77. Ibid, page 182:

“प्रजाकार्यं स्वयमेव पश्येत् ।”

78. Ibid, page 124.

“स खलु नो राजा यो मन्त्रिणोऽतिक्रम्य वर्तेत ।”

The commentator quotes a verse from the Smrtikara Bharadvaja, in support of this position:

“यो राजा मन्त्रिणां वाक्यं न करोति हितैषिणाम् ।

न स तिष्ठेच्छिरं राज्ये पितॄयैतामहेऽपि च ॥”

which the country would rise against him, because, of all dangers to which he is liable, *prakrtikopa* or the anger of ministers, servants, etc., is the most formidable.⁷⁹ He should, says the Mahabharata, employ each of his officers in such work as he is fit to perform and act in unison with them, as the string of a musical instrument with its respective notes.⁸⁰

Feudalism

Even in the Vedic days there were gradations among the kings importing some kind of paramountcy or a feudal integration. The expressions *Virat*, *Sarvabhauma* and *Samrat* occurring in the *Rgveda* indicate this. But even more significant than these gradations or hierarchies is the mention of *Svarat* who, after having renounced the glories of conquest, was concentrated on peace and the consultation of peaceful activities. This thesis has been developed with great acumen by Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara in his *Indian Culture through the Ages* where he cites a passage: “Ayam Indro raja; ayam Indrodhirajah; asau Indrah svarat”.⁸¹

The expressions “Panchajanah” and “Saptajanah” that occur in the *Vedas* are now taken to signify a combination of federation of peoples either monarchical or *quasi-republican* in character.

One of the most remarkable features apparent in the indigenous systems of administration was the recognition of the rights of conquered kings. After annexation it is laid down that local rights and usages should be respected. Samudragupta always openly proclaimed that, whenever he conquered any

79. Ibid: page 157:

“सर्वकोपेभ्यः प्रकृतिकोपो गरियान् ।”

80. Mahabharata, Santi, Chap. 120.

“अथ दृष्ट्वा नियुक्तानि स्वानुरूपेषु कर्मसु ।

सर्वांस्ताननुवर्त्तेत स्वरांस्त्रिरिवायतः ॥ २४

81. Taittiriya Samhita, II, 6.

territory, the defeated king was, after submission, restored to his place and power. *Raghuvamsa*, in fact, says that the king of Kalinga, who was defeated by Raghu, only lost his wealth but not his country.⁸²

The conception of a super-state or Empire loomed large even in Vedic times. According to the *Gopatha Brahmana*, one became a Rajan by performing the *Rajasuya*, Samrat the *Vajapeya*, Svarat the *Asvamedha*, Virat the *Purushamedha*, and Sarvarat the *Sarvamedha* sacrifice.⁸³ The ideal to be followed by Rajanyas as described in the *Aitareya Brahmana* is to win all victories, find all worlds, attain superiority (*Sreshthata*) pre-eminence (*Pratishthata*) and supremacy (*Paramata*) over all kings, achieve over lordship (*Samrajya*), paramount rule (*Bhaujya*), undivided rule (*Svarajya*), sovereignty (*Vairajya*), supreme authority (*Parameshtya*), kingship (*Rajya*), great kingship (*Maharajya*), and suzerainty (*Adhipatya*) encompassing all, and to be the ruler of all territory (*Sarvabhauma*), the sole single ruler (*Ekarat*) of the earth up to the limits of the ocean.⁸⁴ Sukra describes Samantas as those who derive a revenue of one to three lakhs of rupees, Mandalikas four to ten lakhs, Rajans ten to twenty lakhs, Maharajas twenty-one to fifty lakhs, Svarats fifty-one to one hundred lakhs, Samrats one to ten crores, Virats eleven to fifty crores and Sarvabhaumas above

82. *Raghuvamsa*, IV, 43.

“गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तम्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथम्य जहार न तु मेदिनोम् ॥”

83. Mookerji's *Hindu Civilisation*, p. 98.

84. *Aitareya Brahmana*, Book VIII, Chapter 4 :

“स य इच्छेदेवंवित् क्षत्रियोऽहं सर्वां जितीर्जयेयमहं सर्वान् लोकान् विन्देयम् ; अहं सर्वेषां राजां शैष्यमतिष्ठां परमतां गच्छेयं साक्षात्यं भोव्यं स्वारात्यं वैरात्यं पारमेष्यं रात्र्यं महारात्यमाधिपत्यम् ; अहं ममन्तपर्ययी स्यां सार्वभौमः सार्वायुष आन्तादा पराधार्त् पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्यन्ताया एकराष्ट्रिति स न विचिकिस्तेत् स शूयात् ॥”

fifty-one crores.⁸⁵ Several rulers sometimes selected the most powerful among them as overlord and became subordinates to him, as when Sisupala became the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Jarasandha, and Dantavakra and others became his vassals.⁸⁶ Sometimes new kingdoms were created for the sake of royal favourites as when Karna was made the king of Anga by Suyodhana.⁸⁷ During Digvijaya all that the conquering hero desired was that his suzerainty should be respected and there was no other kind of subjugation. There were also other grounds than valour on which a king was accepted as a suzerain of many. The Mahabharata says that the king Yauvanasvi became a Samrat by the remission of taxes, Bhagiratha by giving protection, Kartavirya by his austere life, Bharata by victory and Marutta by advancing the prosperity of his subjects, and that Srikrishna advised Yudhishthira that he should aim at Samrajya from not one, but all those points of view.⁸⁸ Sisupala himself went to Indraprastha to attend the Rajasuya of Yudhishthira not because he was really conquered by the Pandavas, but because he thought that Yudhishthira deserved that honour by reason of his righteousness.⁸⁹

85. *Sukranitisara*, I, 184-86:

“सामन्तः स नृपः प्रोक्तो यावलक्ष्यत्रयावधि ।
तदूर्ध्वं दशलक्षान्तो नृपो माण्डलिकः स्मृतः ॥
तदूर्ध्वं तु भवेद् राजा यावद् विशतिलक्षकः ।
पञ्चाशलक्षपर्यन्तो महाराजः प्रकीर्तिः ।
ततस्तु कोटिपर्यन्तः स्वराट् सम्राट् ततः परम् ॥”

86. *Mahabharata*, Sabha, Chapter 14.

87. *Ibid*, Adiparva, Chapter 139.

88. *Ibid*, Sabha, Chapter 15:

“हिंसा करान् यौवनाश्चिः पालनाच्च भगीरथः ।
कार्तवीर्यस्तपोवीर्याद् बलात्तु भरतो विभुः ॥
ऋद्ध्या मरुत्सत्तान् पञ्च सम्राजस्वनुशुश्रुमः ।
साम्राज्यमिच्छतस्ते तु सर्वाकारं युधिष्ठिर ॥” १५-१३

89. *Ibid*, Chapter 37:

वये तु न भयादस्य कौन्तेयस्य महात्मनः ।
प्रयच्छामः करान् सर्वे न लोभात्र च सान्त्वनात् ॥
अस्य धर्मप्रवृत्तस्य पार्थिवत्वं चिकिर्षतः ।
करानस्मै प्रयच्छामः सोऽयमस्माक्षं मन्यते ॥” १५-२०

The duties of a dependent king are thus enumerated in the Arthashastra; "He should behave like a servant to his master by serving the protector's occasional needs. Forts and other defensive works, celebration of marriages in his household, installation of the heir-apparent, purchase of horses, capture of elephants, construction of covert places for battle, marching against enemies and holding sports—all these he should undertake only with the permission of his protector On all occasions of worshiping God and offering prayers, he should cause the people to pray for the long life of his protector."⁹⁰

Federation

This feudalism was more or less of the federal type. The Mandala was a circle of States, generally twelve in number, some of which had not full sovereign powers. In this connection some observations made by Dr. Beni Prasad as a result of his close study of ancient Hindu States are worthy of quotation. He says: "The State in ancient India was not unitary in the strict sense of the term. It was saturated through and through with the principles of what for convenience may be called federalism and feudalism. They are only meant to imply that, as a general rule, a Hindu kingdom comprised a number of feudatories who enjoyed varying degree of autonomy, that they might have themselves sub-feudatories of a similar status under them and so to the third, fourth or fifth degree. A big empire was partly a series of alliances, partly a series of relationships of suzerainty and vassalage and partly an area of directly administered territory. The high sounding 'Digvijayas' could only lead to such a result on a large or small scale. The tie which held an empire together was not very strong. Under every regime, suzerain or feudal, the village was the ultimate unit of society. Finally, there were a

90. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. II, p. 341:

"लङ्घसंश्रयः सामयाचारिकवद् मुर्ति वर्तेत । दुर्गाद्विनि च कर्माण्यावा हविवा-

number of associations and corporations, religious, economic and social, which enjoyed a fair degree of autonomy. Sovereignty *de facto* was diffused among all these organisations and influences which supported them.”⁹¹

Of the republican organisations, it is necessary only to mention the Sakyas of Kapilavastu whose leader was elected by the people and who was delegated with powers of administration. In Panini several republics are mentioned amongst whom, as pointed out by Mr. Venkatesvara, there was even a separation of powers, the judiciary from the military and executive as amongst the Lichchavis, for instance, who flourished in the Vajra country with their capital at Vaisali.

About the time of Megasthenes who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, there were many republics in India two of which attracted the special notice of the Greeks—the Audeyas and the Ambashthas—and the Brahmins themselves seem to have founded a republic of their own as observed by Appollonios of Tyana.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji points out: “The administration of the Mauryan empire was possible because it did not cherish the ambition of setting up a centralised government consciously legislating for and controlling the life of every part of that vast whole, but aimed only at an elastic system, of federalism or corporation in which were incorporated along with the central government at the metropolis, as parts of the same system, the indigenous local administrations. The essence of this imperial system was thus a recognition of local autonomy at the expense of the authority of the central government, which was physically unfit to assert itself except by its enforced affiliation

हपुत्राभिषेकाश्वपण्थहस्तिग्रहणसत्रयात्राविग्रहारगमनानि चानुशातः कुर्वीत ।दैवत स्वस्तिवाच्चनेषु तत्परा आशिषो वाचयेत् ॥”

to the pre-existing system of local Government.”⁹² There are also passages in the ancient texts leading to the inference that our ancestors were not for the wholesale destruction of alien nations. Kamandaka says that peace may be concluded by Aryan kings even with non—Aryan because by such alliance an Arya can never become a non-Arya even in times of calamity.⁹³

Non-Monarchical States

Hitherto we have been speaking of monarchical States. There were also certain States in ancient India which were non-monarchical. Sangha, according to Panini, was the designation given to a combination of people organised for a specific purpose.⁹⁴ From one of Katyayana’s Vartikas it is seen that there were monarchical and non-monarchical States in his time⁹⁵ (3rd century B. C.) Kautalya speaks of two classes of corporations, Kshatriyasrenis who lived by agriculture, trade and arms, and Raja-sabdopajivins. While the Kambojas and the Saurashtras came under the former category, the Lichchhivikas, Vrajikas, Mallakas, Madras, Kukuras, Kurus, Panchalas, etc., fell under the latter class.⁹⁶ The Andhakas and the Vrishnis, to which latter corporation

92. Local Government in Ancient India (1919), p. 10.

93. Kamandaka’s Nitisara, Chapter IX:

सत्यायै धार्मिकानायै आतृसङ्घातवान् बली ।
अनेकविजयी चेति सन्धेयाः सप्त कीर्तिः ॥
सत्योऽनुपालयन् सत्यं सन्धितो नैति विक्रियाम् ।
ग्राणवाधेष्वपि व्यक्तमार्ये नायात्यनार्यताम् ॥

94. Panini’s Ashtādhyayi, III, 3. 86:

“सङ्घोद्धौ गणप्रशंसयोः ।”

95. Ibid, IV. I. 166:

“जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादत् ।”

Katyayana states:

“क्षत्रियादेरोजात् सङ्घग्रातिषेधार्थम् ।”

96. Kautalya’s Arthashastra, Volume III, p. 144:

“काम्बोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेष्ठादयो वार्ताशङ्कोपजीविनः ; लिङ्छिविक्वजिकमलुक-
मद्रकुकुरकुरुस्याश्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः ।”

Srikrishna belonged, also came under the latter category. From a Buddhistic work *Avadanasataka* (C. 100 B. C.), quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar, it is seen that some States in Madhyadesa were ruled by kings and others by Ganas.⁹⁷ Gana was the technical name ordinarily given to a political sangha. A Gana was drawn from various Rajakulas and the heads of these Rajakulas formed the Gana.⁹⁸ The real power of the Ganas was nevertheless vested in the Ganamukhyas who were the chiefs of the Gana, composed of two, three or five members, according to Brhaspati, who were both able and willing to look after the welfare of the whole community.⁹⁹ The Lichchavis referred to already formed a confederation of Ganas. They were in power from the seventh to the fourth century B. C. They recognised no distinction as between them and each of them was in a position to feel that he was a king.¹⁰⁰ In the days of Gautama Buddha they were noted for their high national character. As stated in the Mahabharata, however, it was essential for the success of such States that there should be no internal dissensions among the Ganamukhyas.¹⁰¹ Kautalya also emphasises the need for

97. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures, p. 147:

“केचिद् देशा गणाधीनाः केचिद् राजाधीनाः ।”

98. Katyayana, the Smrtikara, says:

“कुलानां तु समूहस्तु गणः स्यात् परिकीर्तिः ।”

99. Vivadaratnakara, p. 179:

“सर्वकार्ये प्रविणाश्च कर्तव्याश्च महत्तमाः ।
द्वौ त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्याः समूहहितवादिनः ॥
कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां ग्रामश्रेणिगणादिभिः ॥”

100. Lalitavistara, Calcutta Edn., p. 23:

“एकैकं एव मन्येत अहं राजा, अहं राजेति ।”

101. Mahabharata, Santi, Chapter 107)

“कुलेषु कलहा जाताः कुलवृद्धैरुपेक्षिताः ।
गोत्रस्य नाशं कुर्वन्ति गणभेदस्य कारणम् ॥”
भेदाच्चैव प्रधानाच्च भिद्यन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः ।
तस्मात् सङ्घात एवाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत् ॥” ३१

internal harmony and for vigilance against foes who may sow seeds of discord among them.¹⁰² In course of time the Ganas became an easy prey to Ekaraja invaders on account of such discords. Sukra is positive that Ekaraja rule alone is beneficial to society, and that, if a king has several sons, the eldest among them should succeed to the throne, provided that he is not deaf, dumb or blind, a leper or a eunuch, in which case his younger brother or brother's son may become ruler. A kingdom should, on no account, be partitioned.¹⁰³

It is an agreeable feature of ancient India that the fissiparous tendencies which, later on, manifested themselves in the form of personal jealousy amongst the rulers, racial and communal jealousies amongst the people and religious dissensions subsequent to the stream of foreign conquests, were singularly rare in the earlier days. At the same time, from the Vedas we learn that the Samiti was an active political body sometimes enjoying royal patronage and not unoften full of discussion and controversy. There are prayers invoking the assistance of the unseen powers for conducting the deliberations with wisdom and helping to the formulation of unanimous resolutions ; and the Atharva Veda, in fact, contains special charms and spells to secure unanimity. It is perhaps

102. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. III. Page 152;

“सङ्घाशाप्येवमेकराजादेतेभ्योऽतिसन्धानेभ्यो रक्षयेयुः ।”
 “सङ्घसुरव्यश्च सङ्घेषु न्यायवृत्तिहितः प्रियः ।
 दान्तो युक्तजगरित्तिष्ठेत् सर्वचित्तानुवर्तकः ॥”

103. Sukranitisara I:

“सदैकनायकं राज्यं कुर्यान्न बहुनायकम् ।
 राजकुले तु बहवः पुरुषा यदि सन्ति हि ।
 तेषु न्येष्टो भवेद् राजा शेषास्तत्कार्यसाधकाः । ३४०-४२
 अेष्टोऽपि बधिरः कुष्ठो मूकोऽन्धः षण्ड एव यः ।
 स राज्यार्होभवेष्टैव भ्राता तत्पुत्र एव हि ॥ ३४३
 राज्यविभजनाच्छ्रूयो न भूपानां भवेत् खलु ।
 अल्पोऽकृतं विभागेन राज्यं शाश्वर्जिष्यक्षति ॥ ३४४

a pity that those charms and spells are neither invoked nor efficacious at the present moment. The Samiti then and the smaller Sabha which was a kind of *quasi-executive* body as well as the various Parishats which were attended by women as well as men and were gathered together for the purpose of sport or education, social or religious purposes and the Sadas which was entirely religious in character, were all symptomatic of the active social life of those days. In addition, of course, there were professional and caste guilds and what almost takes one's breath away is the existence of an assembly of ladies who are described in the Taittiriya Samhita of having discussed women's problems and women's rights and obligations in those days.

In the days of the epics, it is obvious that there were city corporations, merchant guilds and Sanghas. There were popular leaders who were evidently as articulate as the leaders of to-day who were called आमघोषमहत्तरा, the principal men in Gramas and Ghoshas.

Both in the Buddhist and post-Buddhist times, city life and village life were very vigorous and there was developed even a theory of progressive scaled taxation by way of a tax on surpluses or by way of analogy to the present supertax. By the time of Kautalya, all these systems became highly evolved, the king leading a very strenuous and active life and elaborate regulations being promulgated down with regard to the ministry and the various departments of the State, the Central Government alone having eighteen departments or Tirthas, and rules being laid down for survey and settlement as well as remissions of revenue as we find in the time of Asoka as well as periodical tours and inspections to keep in touch with local Governments.

Village Life

The village was the unit of ancient Hindu society, since agriculture was the main occupation followed by the people. The

desertion of villages in favour of town life was viewed with disfavour by Smrtikaras. "Let him avoid going into towns",¹⁰⁴ says Apaśtamba, while Baudhayana says : "It is impossible for one to attain salvation who lives in a town covered with dust".¹⁰⁵ While towns were enclosed by high walls, villages had no such artificial enclosure. Rules have been laid down by Kautalya for the formation of new villages. He states : "Either by inducing foreigners to immigrate or by causing thickly populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth the excess population, the king may construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins. Villages consisting each of not less than a hundred families and of not more than five hundred families of agriculturists, mainly of the Sudra caste, with boundaries extending as far as a *Krosa* (2,250 yards) or two and capable of protecting each other, shall be formed."¹⁰⁶ R. K. Mookerji correctly remarks : "India presents the rare and remarkable phenomenon of the State and the society co-existing apart from, and in some degree of independence of, each other as distinct and separate units or entities, as independent centres of national, popular and collective life and activity."¹⁰⁷

Guilds.

Guilds of various kinds were formed. Puga was an association of men of different castes who, having no fixed means of livelihood, united themselves for the pursuit of wealth and pleasure, while Vrata was an association of such men living by

104. Apastamba's Dharmasutra, I, 32 :

"नगरप्रवेशनानि च वर्जयेत् ।" २१

105 Baudhayana's Dharmasutra, II, 3 :

"पुरेणुकुर्दितशरिरस्तत्परिपूर्णनेत्रवद्दनश्च नगरे वसन् सुनिथतात्मा सिद्धिमवा-प्स्यतीति न तदस्ति ।" ५३

106. Kautalya's Arthashastra, Vol. I, p. 109.

"भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्व वा जनपदं परदेशापवाहनेन स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेश-येत् । शूद्रकर्षप्रायं कुलशत्तावरं पञ्चशत्तकुलपरं ग्रामं क्रोशद्विकोशसीमानमन्योन्यारक्षं निवेशयेत् ।"

107. R. K. Mookerji's Local Government in Ancient India, p. 3.

of existing guilds required the sanction of the king.¹¹⁶ The village assemblies were also invested with certain municipal functions, as already stated. These functions are stated by Brhaspati to be the maintenance and improvement of public halls, water-sheds, temples, tanks and gardens, poor relief and alleviation of distress in times of scarcity.¹¹⁷ Thus the purposes for which such corporations were brought into existence embraced a wide variety of useful public activity.

I have now completed a rapid and necessarily imperfect survey of some of the political ideas and theories that were evolved and obtained currency at various periods of Indian history. To summarise, they point to a continued tradition of a strong central government where the king was a real factor to be counted with and not a *roi fai ne ant*. His authority and powers were, however, exercised after constant consultation with a ministry and through heads of departments whose jurisdiction was extensive and who, under wise kings, were always encouraged to speak their minds. Kingship was mainly hereditary but often elective. The pulse of the public was felt not only through the espionage system of those days but also by means of assemblies which, especially in the South of India, flourished in great abundance and with much vigour. Provincial or rather local autonomy was, however, the main feature of Hindu India and the essence of Government lay in the formation and functioning of village groups, taxing themselves, expending their revenues on

116. Yajnavalkya, II:

“श्रेणिनैगमपाषण्डिगणानामप्ययं विधिः ।

भेदं चैषां नृपो रक्षेत् पूर्वपङ्क्तिं च पालयेत् ॥’ १९६

117. Brhaspati:

सभाप्रपादेवगृहतटागारामसंस्कृतिः ।

तथानाथदस्त्रिद्वाणां संस्कारो यन्ननक्षित्या ॥

कुलायननिरोधश्च कार्यमस्माभिरंशतः ॥’

works of public utility and governing themselves. Political speculation was active and the theory of a compact with the king, the idea that taxation is the return for good administration and protection, the formulation of the need for a cabinet system of Government with Dharma or *vox populi* as the ultimate sanction—these were some of the conspicuous features of Indian polity. The resort to popular opinion was in the nature of a referendum as in Switzerland, a referendum which, on two occasions, namely, when Dasaratha took the fateful decision regarding Rama's exile and when Rama put aside Sita, seemed to have been very articulate and very powerful. The old dispensation was outwardly and in later theory and practice actually unfettered and autocratic but nevertheless, by reason of the grant of complete local freedom and the practice of what, in effect, was a form of State socialism, the king acted as being ever in the great task-master's eye—the task-master being what was indifferently called Dharma or the voice of the people, which latter, when it expressed itself, was clear and unequivocal. Popular gatherings, if the Atharva Veda furnishes an accurate picture, were full of life but at the same time animated by a lively desire to achieve concord.¹¹⁸ The greatest contribution to posterity made by the Hindu tradition was the broadmindedness of sympathy and the toleration of different view-points exhibited almost alone in India amongst the civilised communities of the earlier days. When Egypt persecuted and hounded out the Jews, when racial and communal conflicts disfigured the history of Babylon and Nineveh, when, later on, we see that the slave states in Greece and Rome formed the basis of those marvellous cultures and when in the medieval

118.

“अन्यो अन्यस्मे वल्यु वदन्त एव
सधीचीनान् वः संमनस्कृणोमि ।
समानी प्रपा सह वोऽन्नभागः
समाने योक्त्रे सह वो युनज्जिम ॥”

(Kanda 3, sukta 30, RK. 5-6).

ages the baiting of Jews alternated with the baiting of Roman Catholics by Protestants and *vice versa*, we had the spectacle in India of unfailing hospitality to foreign religions and foreign cultures. It would be unfair and inaccurate not to mention that the Buddhists and Jains suffered many pains and penalties especially in the South of India; but which country can show anything like the treatment of the Parsees who, flying from oppression in their own country of Persia, asked for and obtained succour of the wise west-coast king to whose protection and active encouragement of their faith and tradition, the Parsees ultimately owe their dominant position in the India of to-day? Which country can furnish a parallel to what happened in Travancore under the rule of extremely conservative and religious-minded monarchs? From the days when Christian congregations were split into innumerable and warring factions owing to the Arian controversy at the Council of Nicaea and the question of images, the Chera kings of Travancore gave a wholehearted welcome to the followers of the Eastern Church whose Patriarch of Antioch even now boasts of a larger following in Malabar than perhaps anywhere else in the world? Which king outside India has surpassed the monarchs of Travancore and Malabar who conferred sacerdotal honours, presents, lands and dignities on the ministers, bishops and Arch-bishops of the Christian Church with the result that to-day the largest Christian population in India is found in the State of Travancore? Which ruler in the world's chequered history has enunciated in more moving and powerful language than is found in the Edicts of Asoka the Great, the principles of tolerance and comprehension of differing creeds and ideals co-existing with a spiritual urge towards the consolidation and regeneration of the Ruler's own faith? Such have been the marks and the characteristics of Indian civilisation not only at its peak points but through the centuries until recently and it is not too much to say that the recent Proclamation of His Highness

the Maharaja of Travancore has an authentic Hindu background and lineage. Can this instinct of universality, this understanding of all points of view and the feeling that the realisation of the Supreme must connote a sympathy with, and a reconciliation of, many forms of thought and belief be better expressed than in the words of Tayumanavar in his Hymn to Parvati:

‘நியூண்ட கடவெனச் சமயத்தையுண்ட பர ஞானவாணந்தவாளியே’¹¹⁹

“The light and bliss of supreme knowledge that envelops and absorbs all forms of belief and thought as the ocean absorbs all rivers?”

In Rock Edict 12, the Emperor Asoka declares that he does reverence to men of all sects whether ascetics or householders and he adds that he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality, by such conduct inflicts the severest injury to his own sect; and he ends the Edict with these ever memorable words: “Concord is the supreme good”.

‘समवाय एत्र साधुः’

May this spirit of concord animate our social and political life in the exacting years ahead of us!

119. Compare Kalidasa:

“वहुधाप्यागमैर्भिक्षा: पन्थानः सिद्धिहेतवः ।
त्वरयेव निपतन्त्योदा जाह्नवीया द्ववार्णवे ॥

Philosophy of the Tamils.*

[This is a "Foreword" written by Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E. to a publication entitled "Studies and Translations (Philosophical and Religious)" by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M. A., a learned scholar, politician and statesman of Ceylon. In this brief yet exceedingly suggestive introduction Sir Ramaswami Aiyar rises immensely to the high level of culture and the admirable and clear exposition of such abstruse subjects as Luminous Sleep, Jana Vasishtham, etc, dealt with in the book which also contains the gems of thought from the writings of such well-known saints and philosophere as Tayumanavar, Manikkavasagar, Thiruvalluvar, etc., Sir Ramaswami Aiyar has, in this short note, exhibited his extreme familiarity and knowledge with the philosophical literature of the Tamils and points out that the special features of the best work of the Tamil Saints and Devotees are "the realisations of spiritual search, marvels of contemplation, the refusals to be limited by outward appearances, the attempts to rid the self of the accidents of personality and to merge with the diviue, the wedding of exquisites phrase to the perfect expression of adoration". He holds that "even Sanskrit literature with all multiform development and its technical perfection of language, is not superior in the matter of philosophical and religious speculation or poetry to the highest examples of the art of Dravida"—an opinion from which one can deduce that his study of the two literatures—Sanskrit and Tamil—has been dispassionate and that his conclusion has been untinged with any bias. A. P. I.]

The wise but cynical Persian Poet, Omar, the tent maker

* Being "Foreward" by Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E., to "Studies and Translations (Philosophical and Religious)" by Sir Ponnambalam, Arunachalam Kt., M. A. of Ceylon.

(Khayyam as he was called) sings according to Fitzgerald's rendering:

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
 Doctor and Saint, and heard great Argument
 About it and about; but evermore
 Came out by the same Door as in I went.

This attitude represents a phase and, by no means an infrequent phase of human thought especially in these sophisticated days that are so full of disillusionment. Perhaps the most effective antidote to this malady of the soul lies in the inspiration afforded by the message of the East, whether that message of certitude be conveyed in the affirmations of the Upanishads and the Gita, in the plenary hopes of the Bhakthi cults like Vaishnavism or Christianity or the stoic but assured outlook upon life inculcated by the Lord Buddha. These gospels are well known to the world but not so well known are the realisations of spiritual search, the marvels of contemplation, the refusals to be limited by outward appearances, the attempts to rid the self of the accidents of personality and to merge with the divine, the wedding of exquisite phrase to the perfect expression of adoration, that are the features of the best work of the Tamil Saints and Devotees.

The world cannot be sufficiently grateful to Sir Ponnam-balam Arunachalam for having in his philosophical and religious "Studies and Translations," unlocked these treasures of thought and of language to those wholly or partially unacquainted with the wonders of Tamil thought and Tamil poesy. Although in the case of some of the earliest poets and poetesses of the Tamil land the language was direct and simple, nevertheless, as time went by, the craftsmanship of the seer grew more and more intricate and the language became so compressed that adequate guidance has become necessary for their comprehension. In a

series of essays, some dealing with the worship of the Devi and of Skanda and some setting out selections from Manikkavasagar, Thayumanavar and other Bhaktas like Nakkirar and the author of Purananuru, Sir P. Arunachalam has elucidated their phraseology and introduced us to their thought forms and their aspirations. Even Sanskrit literature with all its multiform development and its technical perfection of language, is not superior in the matter of philosophical and religious speculation or poetry, to the highest examples of the art of Dravida—especially as exemplified in Thayumanavar and in such miraculous verses as the Ode to Sakthi and in the works of Thiruvalluvar, Nakkirar and Manikkavasagar. The Saiva Siddhanta held sway in the extreme south of India and the tenets of the Vedanta seemed on certain points to conflict with it but the task of sages like Thayumanavar was to reconcile and harmonize the conflicting positions. As Sir P. Arunachalam himself says :

“ The Soul and the Lord apparently distinct, but in fact non-dual, the Soul ‘ not even for the twinkling of an eye having intelligence of its own ’ and owing its intelligence wholly to Him, and finally by His Grace merging in Him and standing there non-dual (v. 20), He, all the while remaining unaffected, as the magnet is unaffected by the iron which it energises or as the sun by the flower which opens under the genial influence of its rays :—this is the doctrine of the *Saiva Siddhanta*, the more ancient interpretation of the *Vedanta* than that which now passes as the *Vedanta*, the interpretation in fact, by which Masters like Thayumanavar harmonize the seemingly conflicting positions of the modern Vedantic and Saiva Siddhantic schools (*Vedanta Siddhanta Samarasa*) ”. “ In the *Siva-gnana-bodham*, which is the chief of the Saiva scriptures in Southern India, the Highest Love (Para Bhakti) is based on the soul’s recognition

of the non-duality and of its debt to the Lord. He standing non-dual with the soul, enables it not only to know external objects but also to know itself and Him. 'Therefore must the soul place highest love in its benefactor.' 'By unfading love that forgets not this non-duality will be reached the feet of the Lord.'

"This song of Thayumanavar is the expression of that Highest Love and of the bliss of the realisation of that non-duality. Only such as he have attained 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' and in a truer sense than is understood by those who talk of it in the West. To him there are no distinctions, for he seeth his Beloved everywhere."

In many songs do the Tamil poets and Sutrakas give expression to this form of highest love.

The task of translation from these classics is inexpressibly difficult and no higher praise can be given than to say that Sir P. Arunachalam's translations enable us to comprehend the spirit and some part of the formal beauty of the original. Two examples must suffice:

கண்ணிற் காண்பதுன் காட்சிகை யாற்றலூழில்
பண்ணல் பூசை பகர்வது மந்திரம்
மண்ணெடு டைந்தும வழங்குயிர் யாவுமே
யண்ணலே நின்னருள் வடிவாகுமே

"Whosoever the eye seeth is Thou. Whosoever the hand doeth is Thy worship. What the mouth uttereth is Thy praise. The earth and other elements and all living things are Thy gracious forms, O Lord."

நதியுண்ட கடலெங்க சமயத்தை யுண்டபா
நூனவனந்த வொளியே
நாதாந்த ரூபமே வேதாந்த மோனமே
நானென்னு மகந்தை தீர்த்ததன்—

.. "Light and Bliss of knowledge supreme, that
 Swallowest religions as ocean rivers
 O Stillness, the Vedas' goal,
 Thy form seen where vibration ends ;
 O Wisdom, consumer of me and thought!"

In a carefully arranged series of essays which display a unique acquaintance with European literature—classical and modern in addition to a mastery over Eastern lore, he has discussed such subjects as "Luminous Sleep"—the sleep in which while there is rest and absence of thought, there is no darkness or oblivion but perfect consciousness, a state of being which has been referred to in Plato and Tennyson and realised by the Yogis of India ; he discourses on the symbolism of Siva worships with special reference to the Bronzes found at Polonnaruwa and in the course of his monograph points out that "a correct judgment of a Nation's Art is not possible unless a critic divests himself of prepossessions and endeavours to understand the thought of that people and places himself in their point of view." He has shown that orthodox Hindu teaching held it to be illogical to found artistic ideals of the Divine upon strictly human prototypes and he makes the pregnant observation that spiritual vision is the best and the truest standard. Pointing out the contrasts between Greek Art and Indian Art he has made possible the true conception of the sculptural and architectural symbolism of the East. Not the least valuable and stimulating amongst the essays collected in this volume is the reprint of an address on the "Eastern Ideals of Education and Their Bearing on Modern Problems" wherein Sir P. Arunachalam has traced the history and mission of the Forest Universities of India and the method of their striving for true knowledge and has instituted a comparison and contrast between the modes of approach in the East and in the West to the ultimate problems of education for life and for the after-life.

Although the book is styled "Studies and Translations," there is embedded in it much original thought evolved by one to whom Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Tamil literature were equally open books. The significance and value of his contributions are enhanced by the circumstance that the author was not a cloistered savant nor a recluse but was one who, as a great lawyer and administrator, exemplified in his own life the possibilities of that combination of worldly and other-worldly achievement, the supreme exemplar of which was King Janaka of Mithila.

It was my privilege to have personally known Sir P. Arunachalam and his equally distinguished brother, Sir P. Ramanathan and I account it a piece of good fortune to have the privilege of introducing this volume to a world which will be all the better for the knowledge and assimilation of that varied culture whereof the author was an exponent as well as an embodiment.

World Forces and the Super-State*

[September 1, 1940, will go into the passage of history as the darkest day of the present century, for it was on that ill-fated day that Hitler unfurled the flag of destruction, set the world on its legs and forced the people living in different and distant lands with tragic suddenness to look about them and put their house in order, though he had himself decided on an intensive and extensive programme of blood-shed and butchery. To the unwary this hymn of hate was no doubt the severest shock ever dealt, but the shrewd observer of current events was terribly apprehensive of the coming whirlpool of misery, carnage, massacre and slaughter of the innocents. As early as three years before this merciless hunt after human blood the Archbishop of Canterbury had sounded a note of grave warning in the course of a sermon. He had stated:—"Everywhere in Europe there is restlessness, suspicion, apprehension. Arms are being rapidly increased. The race of armaments is going on apace. The efforts which single nations are making for their own security are only increasing the sense of insecurity among other nations". Whether proper and timely heed was given to this warning or not, we are now face to face with the grim fact that the world itself is on its trial. As Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar himself has so forcibly and tersely put, "new economic tendencies had gained ascendancy and economic equilibrium was at an end; and between 1931 and 1939, the system of collective security completely broke down and organised propaganda and the picking up of quarrels so as to effect a redistribution of territories and a capture of markets by means of aggression came to the foreground." The World situation having been brought to such a pitch, it became necessary for every thinking man and woman, whether living in Australia, Brazil, America, Africa, or India or even in the Arctic region, to cast about his or her own safety. To such an enquiry the pamphlet of this gifted son of India opens out a new avenue of thought.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar makes a brief yet rapid survey of the world affairs as they stand today—a survey marked by an insight and intuition truly admirable, and a vision not blurred or influenced by race, caste, religion or community, nor limited by territorial boundaries or other local considerations. To describe the present situation as barbarous or brutal is

* Address by Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar K. C. I. E. LL. D. to the 64th Theosophical Convention held at Madras on the 29th December, 1939.

to use the mildest language. In the words of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, "it is a waiting and a watching game at the front and much of the damage done is not in pitched battles, but sporadically and with cruel aimlessness in the air, on the high seas and in the countryside and destruction and disintegration are rained from the air, or from under the sea on non-combatants as much as on the fighters". In spite of these blood-curdling scenes of horror enacted before our very eyes, in spite of the weird and wicked episodes repeated every day, in spite of treaties and conventions being torn asunder as mere scraps of paper, the West does not seem to have come any where near the right solution. On the other hand, the hankering after armaments and territories is the prevailing idea which governs the Western world. For, the remedy suggested for bringing about a peaceful state of affairs seems to be "the pooling of some part of National Sovereignty and the eventual growth of a universal system of World Government which would be invincible against aggression and which would help to remove all economic and racial barriers." In other words, "the present system of National Sovereignty has led to an insensate competition in armaments and economic autarchy which constitute a negation of a will to peace", as observed by Sir Ramaswami Aiyar. Eminent men of different nationalities—English, American, German, Italian, Austrian, French—men of high positions in life and in the republic of letters—lawyers, statesmen, journalists, politicians—have written on the subject. But the basic idea which runs through every one of these is territorial possession or territorial aggression under mandate of arms of some kind or other. In this medley of thought, in this conflict of ideals, in this sordid fight for brute force with humanity, in this carnal war of might *versus* right, India can make a valuable and effective contribution and can, with confidence perhaps, offer the right solvent. This is the sum and substance of this learned Address for which no better occasion could have been selected than the Annual Theosophical Convention which is attended by thinkers and men of culture from all parts of the world. A.P.I.]

Dr. Arundale and Delegates to the Theosophical Convention:—

It is a great compliment that has been paid to me in extending an invitation to address the members of the 64th Theosophical Convention. Although closely associated with the political, education and other activities of Dr. Besant and although, for many years, a most appreciative witness of the great work of popularisation and harmonisation of Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian and other ideals achieved by the Theosophical Society and of

the notable part that the founders of your Society and their successors have played in the Indian Renaissance of to-day, I have not been enrolled as a member of your organisation and it is my pleasant duty to pay a tribute to the generosity of the members who have enabled me to speak to you on a topic of such paramount importance at the present moment as "World Forces and the Super-State."

It is always difficult for any one to make an accurate appraisal of world forces at a given moment. History as it is lived through and written, as has been so revealingly pointed out recently by Mr. Duff Cooper soon after he resigned his post as First Lord of the Admiralty, comprises a great deal of contradictory assertions and counter-assertions and of tendentious matters inseparable from the conflict of ideals and policies. It comprises reports, speeches, correspondence, Parliamentary papers and despatches much of which is confused, some of which may be deliberately propagandist and some may be the resultant of deep prejudices. Honest error and blundering may characterise yet other portions. It is, therefore, a mere truism to say that only subsequent enlightenment will help to distinguish contemporary truth from falsehood; and as Herodotus has remarked, the further the historian is removed from his subject, the better will his judgment be on affairs. But it is equally true that what the historian gains in impartiality he loses in appeal and atmosphere.

Speaking of revolutions, wars and intrigues in his days, the Latin poet, Horace, says :

The ups and downs of pacts and leagues,
And wounds as yet unhealed by time;
Such are the themes you treat, who dare
(A risk which many a heart dismayed)
To stir hot ashes, which may flare
At any moment to a blaze.

Any study of world movements to-day has to pluck its material from such a blaze. But whatever judgment on smaller matters or comparatively trifling issues may be arrived at by the student of contemporary affairs, it cannot be gainsaid that the period from 1930 to 1938 is appropriately referred to as a period of "collapse" as it has been in fact described in a recent history of international affairs compiled by a totally non-partisan and judicially-minded body of observers. In Europe the difficulty of reparations was believed to have been settled by the adoption of the Young Plan of May 1930. It was considered that relations with Germany had been improved by reason of the complete evacuation of the Rhine-Land. Draft Conventions regarding disarmament were produced at regular intervals and the Kellogg Pact for a very short period appeared to mark a crucial stage in the elimination of war as a factor in the relations between nations. The expulsion of Zinoviev and his associates indicated to many minds the jettisoning of the policy of communist interference with the domestic affairs of other countries and there arose in Russia a series of Herculean Social and Economic efforts at re-construction beginning with the Five Year Plan for industrial development through the utilisation of hydro-electric power and through the nationalisation of finance, agriculture and industry. In the Far East similarly, communist propaganda had been checked between 1927 and 1929 and orderly progress seemed to be possible. In America a series of pacifications and Conventions for conciliation and arbitration were entered into; and the United States until 1929 enjoyed a period of unique prosperity. In the Middle East, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Egypt and large parts of Arabia, a period of prosperity was foretold.

It was at this moment that economic causes more than anything else produced profound alterations in world affairs and the economic upheaval of 1929 was declared in December, 1930, by

a celebrated economist to have produced a crisis which "will be but a prelude for a dark period to which the historian of the future will give the name 'Between Two Wars'". As early as 1931 a book was published with the title "Can Europe Keep the Peace?" New economic tendencies had gained ascendancy and economic equilibrium was at an end; and between 1931 and 1939, the system of collective security completely broke down and organised propaganda and the picking up of quarrels so as to effect a redistribution of territories and a capture of markets by means of aggression came to the fore-ground. The financial debacle of 1929 in the United States, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the new orientation of policy in Italy and Germany from 1933, have been the landmarks of this period of collapse.

One of the main traits of the present-day European world is the existence of a despair on the part of the masses in respect of a society, which, to them, seems no longer rational. Obviously, forces like Fascism and Nazism can only be regarded as transitional stages in development but at the same time it would be a just observation that the present totalitarian tendencies cannot be overcome by the adoption of socialism of the old type or of capitalistic democracy but only by a fresh non-economic orientation of life and of society based on inner harmony rather than on all round acquisitiveness and a harking back to spiritual rather than to temporal values. In Europe, neither the forces of the right nor of the left have yet fully realised that a successful fight against totalitarian concepts cannot be possibly succeeded by the deification of the Economic Man who was the Patron Saint of the Victorian Age. Acute observers have not been oblivious of this aspect and it is remarkable that an Austrian publicist, Peter Drucker, as early as May, 1939, asserted that a Russo-German war alone may save the West from being drawn into a general conflagration. Such a war would

probably be fought to maintain the society of the Economic Man who used to subsist on the theory and practice of lip-service to democracy in politics and adherence to rigid dictatorship on the part of industrialists, armament-makers and financiers. Therefore, according to him, such a war was inevitable. In the light of subsequent events, his words seem prophetic. "The efforts of the European Left Wing parties are directed towards a united front between the democracies and Russia and their contention that such an alliance would usher in democratic Socialism has done greater harm than any political mistakes of the past twenty years."

Whether or not we agree with this author in the assertion that the West has to be prepared for an attack by the East and that this attack will decide the future of Europe, we must admit the validity of the argument that the enthronement of the so-called bourgeois society and the quest after the Capitalistic millennium have produced the present crisis in Europe and through Europe in the world. The individual has to be freed from the limitations of this concept. Such freeing can take place not solely by resistance to totalitarian ideas on the field of battle, but by the release of new forces in society. In fine, it is an inescapable conclusion that a new order can be produced and the dignity and the security of the individual re-established only if economic progress as such is relegated to a secondary place and man's life is dedicated primarily to non-economic aims.

We have, at this moment, reached a condition of what has been legitimately termed "International Anarchy." In order to resolve this anarchy, statesmen often turn back to pre-war political alternatives and there is now proceeding a considerable discussion regarding a new balance of power and a new concert of Europe. As is well known, the old concert of Europe was designed to frustrate the dangerous ambitions of rival States, but it must be

remembered that, when the concert was in full force, all the so-called great powers enjoyed more or less equal status and were more or less prosperous and satisfied. Into such a world have intruded new ideological cleavages and new standards of conduct; and old theories of gentlemanliness and of the policy of life and let live are receding to the background. Much of the responsibility for this result is due to a tendency on the part of political philosophers and also of statesmen to indulge in the game of make believe and in what has been called wishful thinking. When I attended the sittings of the League of Nations in 1926 and 1927 it was regarded as almost sinful to suggest that there could be another world-war or that there were any fundamental defects in the constitution and working of the League of Nations. Indeed most of us willingly persuaded ourselves that a new world was being born; but as time passed, it was discovered that the international cement was lacking in the edifice and the fabric therefore crashed.

Some years ago it used to be stated and repeated that, if you wish for peace, you must be prepared for war. But at the time when such statements were made, men did not realise what modern wars were apt to become. At the present moment, judging from what is happening in that confused medley of battle fronts extending from Japan to the North Sea, it is a waiting and watching game at the front and much of the damage done is not in pitched battles but sporadically and with cruel aimlessness in the air, on the high seas and in the countryside and destruction and disintegration are rained from the air or from under the surface of the sea on non-combatants as much as on the fighters. The conclusion to which one is driven is that the time is already over-ripe not only for clear thinking as to the possible future of humanity but for the avoidance of what I have called wishful thinking in governmental policies and the greatest attainment of

freedom would be to secure freedom from prejudice—colour prejudice, race prejudice and the prejudice of propagandist ideals.

It was one of the comfortable fallacies of the immediate past that a new Era had emerged of material prosperity and of a scientific revaluation of the universe and its values and that the 19th and 20th centuries marked a kind of climax or apogee of human progress. But to adopt the French proverb, the more the world changes, the more it remains fundamentally the same. Whatever else the history of the last few years may have taught humanity, it cannot but drive home the belief that, although mankind has made many conquests in the spheres of production, transport and destruction and in the elimination of time and distance by aeroplane and broadcast and television, in mental and moral outlook it has hardly advanced since the time when primeval Seers in India, in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt cogitated over the fundamental problems of the world and were able to transcend their material environment and arrive at intuitive and eternally true conclusions. The ideal of the practical brotherhood of man and the League of Nations is almost as old as humanity. The Ruler of Egypt, Akhnaton, thought of such an expedient 4,000 years ago. But dealing only with historical times it cannot be forgotten that the religious wars of Europe and the history of that continent from the treaty of Westphalia is almost an exact replica of the state of things which was re-duplicated many centuries later by the treaty of Versailles. The terrible religious conflicts and revolutions that supervened about the year 1650 not only led to many treaties and many arrangements but also led to something much more really important, seen in perspective than such treaties, namely, a book by a great lawyer named Grotius. In his monumental treatise, "*De Jure Pacis et Belli*" was envisaged the modern science of International

Law and partly influenced by it, a miniature League of Nations was set up on the Rhine in 1658, the Member-States of which bound themselves to settle their quarrels by the methods of conciliation. It is true that this book was not more successful than the teaching of the Western churches in preventing wars and revolutions, but more than almost any other factor, it has affected the judgment of the European world regarding wars that are right and wars that are not right and the legitimate obligations and rights of combatants and non-combatants. This miniature League of Nations came to a speedy end by being too ambitious. France was admitted into the Union and the body at once became a military and aggressive Confederacy. The League of Nations like its predecessor has failed by reason of its being used or believed to be used by a few States and by reason of the failure of leading nations to pay serious allegiance to its professed ideals. Its failure was inevitable after the abstention of the United States and the inactivity and lack of enthusiasm on the part of European powers in the matter of disarmament and in regard to economic policies as was manifested in the Economic Conference of 1932 of which I was a disillusioned participant. I am appending a list of Alliances, Treaties, and Pacts which has been recently compiled and which shows how much, or rather how little, the League of Nations may be regarded as an effective factor.

In this state of things, is it surprising that the thoughts of men have turned to the future and the foundations of a new order which can bring to an end the possibility of conflicts like those of the present day—actual and potential—and which may hope to maintain intact those indicia of civilised life, those treasures of architecture and sculpture, painting and the other arts including literature and those symbols of Progress which are encountering the risk of annihilation. Even more important than the maintenance of the outer symbols of man's evolution is the

value of keeping unimpaired the functioning and fulfilment of the human spirit. Thus it is that thoughtful men everywhere have been attempting to remould the world nearer to the heart's desire. Emil Ludwig, the brilliant biographer of contemporary personalities, has outlined a new Holy Alliance. In his brochure published in 1938, he adverted to the Holy Alliance of 1815 whose purpose was to combat the preaching of revolution after Napoleon's defeat and which starteds by declaring Christ to be the true king of all nations whose steward would be the ruling Princes. The Alliance was open to all Christian Kings but Great Britain and the Pope did not join it and its fate is a matter of history. The Philosophy of 1815 is not the philosophy of 1939 or 1940 but the necessity exists now (as it existed then) of controlling those who are likely to disturb the peace of the world. Ludwig considers that such an Alliance is possible with the United States as a component part. It is an ironic commentary upon the fallibility of human judgments and a proof of the rapid march of history that in discussing this Alliance Ludwig is able to say that the aims of the Soviet Union are quite different from that of other great powers because Moscow sets her great socialistic ideal against the old-fashioned craving for more land, more cities and an Empire. Russia, in his words, never ceases to strive towards that ideal in spite of all vicissitudes. How different seems to be the reality? It is clear that many of Ludwig's hypotheses have already become obsolete. But he is on sure grounds when he makes an appeal for the abandonment of what has been often described as Autarchy. He defines the aims of the future as (1) a reformed Socialism as the national gospel, and (2) United States of Europe as the International policy. He pleads for such social adjustments without recourse to war as may be possible. The conquest by science of time and space has already eliminated many old notions and, whether they like it or not, nations are much more closely linked together

than many thinkers could foresee. The disappearance of the worship of mere numbers and of the captains of organisation and industry, the seeking of welfare no longer in external aggressiveness but in inner concentration, the establishment of the State not as the main purpose of life but as the means of justice are declared to be the ends and objects of that Alliance.

More or less on similar lines there have appeared many books in Germany, France and America, one of which has recently created a sensation. Early in 1939, Clarence K. Streit in his "Union Now," writing as one who spent many years in Geneva and represented in Europe the "New York Times" analyses the causes of the failure of the League of Nations. Streit does not attribute the failure, as many others do, to the emergence of new ideologies such as Communism, Fascism or National Socialism, or the propensities of dictators or the failure of Democracies. He sees the reason of its present plight in the attempt of all Nations to seek prosperity while unwilling to give up the root cause of war and poverty which he describes to be the result of an emphasis laid throughout the world on National Sovereignty. It is proposed by him and many other contemporary writers that the only chance for the survival of the world as we know it and as it might be, would be the pooling of some part of National Sovereignty and the eventual growth of a universal system of World Government which would be invincible against aggression and which would help to remove all economic and racial barriers. The chances of a Federal Union as contemplated by Streit have been studied with sympathy by the Marquess of Lothian in the "Ending of Armageddon," a book written by him just before he became the ambassador to Washington. The difficulties to be faced comprised (a) the persistence of the tradition of National Sovereignty and national Pride and Customs. (b) The difficulty of combining in a Federal Union so-called Dictatorships and

so-called Democracies. (c) The Colonial question with which is closely intertwined the problem of the political and economic control of one people over another or what is called Imperialism. The machinery that Mr. Streit has proposed is a combination of the Parliamentary and Presidential system in a constitution based on the American model which avoids the difficulties of a Parliamentary Executive in the English sense. The problem is to bring into existence a Union of Nations which will allow full scope for national and racial differences but will, at the same time, unite all their inhabitants under a law which will end war and make reasonable prosperity and liberty secure. Whatever else such a new constitution seeks to do, it will certainly have to attempt a limitation of economic nationalism as it is now madly pursued and secondly a very drastic limitation of armaments by the creation of a Super-State with an Armed Force and the prohibition of arming by individual countries excepting purely for internal defence. Such ends cannot be achieved in a moment or without very careful preparation and thought and discussion; but it is demonstrable that the present system of National Sovereignty has led to an insensate competition in armaments and economic autarchy which constitute a negation of a will to peace. No international order based merely on the optional cooperation of equally self-sufficient Sovereign States can prove stable because all Sovereign States as the history of the League has proved have necessarily to look after their own self-interests. The Super-State of the probably distant future will have to assure National Self-Government to all Units but will have to put into a common pool all the resources for Defence and Order, Currency, Trade, Communications and Migrations and possess all the powers necessary to implement and finance its activities. A Federal Union on such lines is being contemplated by many persons in widely separated regions.

Within the last few weeks, Harold Nicholson, a member of Parliament, has approached this problem in a brochure entitled "Why Britain is at War." After having delivered an indictment against Germany and the Nazi theory of life and patriotism, Mr. Nicholson faces the fact that, if and when the Nazis disappear, communists will probably come in followed perhaps by a period of internal disorder. No League of Nations or similar body can deal with problems produced by such happenings unless it possesses armed forces and unless the Member States of what, with the usual complacency of European writers, has been called by him "The United States of Europe" make a substantial sacrifice of their National Sovereignty. As a necessary concomitant the forces of each State will have to be reduced to the size required by its own internal needs. Nicholson finds it essential as a part of his thesis to lay down that no country should be allowed to possess any aeroplanes at all, whether civil or military, and that the Super-State will alone have to operate all the great international air routes and possess a trained international air force with pilots drawn only from the smaller countries. All these requisites assume sacrifices and surrenders of many public utility undertakings like international transit, airways, posts and telegraphs.

To have envisaged these problems and the solutions attempted in respect of them is necessarily also to realise the inherent complexities of the position and the manifest difficulties in the way of a satisfactory solution; but that the perilous state of the world needs a complete re-ordering of national forces and a reorientation of human ideas and ideals hardly admits of controversy. Humanity is literally at the cross-roads and on the choice that it now makes will depend the future of civilisation as we now know it.

The contribution that India can make to such a solution may, at the outset, appear to be insignificant. India does not

count from the point of view of war excepting as a comparatively minor entity in the British Empire. The talk that is indulged in now and then of immediate independence is fantastic in the light of what is taking place daily around us. If India were to declare its independence to-day, apart from internal convulsions, she would be the prey of one or other of the predatory powers unarmed and undisciplined as she is. The question has to be dealt with only from the point of view of a Commonwealth of Nations wherein Britain would more speedily and more effectively than has hitherto been the case, prepare India for self-defence in the military, naval, and aerial sense and even more in the industrial and economic sense as a preliminary to her entry into a world-organisation on terms of equality and self-respect. In other words, the condition precedent to the rebuilding of a new system is preparedness—preparedness of men and material, and energies and spirit. After such a status is attained by India and China, they can be useful and indeed probably decisive factors in the shaping of a new World Polity. The ideals of India have been shaped for her by her Seers and her thinkers. Those ideals are inconsistent with defeatism or dejection. They are incompatible with unmanliness. They cannot be reconciled with faint-heartedness. Weakness masked by religious expression draws down the hardly veiled contempt of Sri Krishna when in the Second Chapter of the Gita he asks the question "In such a crisis whence comes upon thee, O ! Arjuna, this dejection, this un-Aryan and disgraceful pessimism." And he proclaims "Yield not to unmanliness O ! son of Prtha, ill doth it become thee. Cast off this mean faint-heartedness and arise, O ! Scourer of thine enemies." Lest there should be any doubt on this matter, in the 31st Verse of the same Chapter, the Supreme Teacher asserts the sanctity of a righteous war and in words that should be enshrined in the heart of every Indian, he defines Yoga itself as involving efficiency in work and activity कर्मसुकौशलम्. This is

part of the Hindu heritage and these ideas are in the lineal succession of those precepts that have come down from the Vedas, down to the most recent times.

One of the authentic modern apostles of Hinduism, Swami Vivekananda, in his Karma Yoga declares that activity always means resistance. "Resist all evils, mental and physical, and when you have succeeded in resisting, then will calmness come. It is very easy to say hate nobody, resist not evil. But we know what that kind generally means in practice. When the eyes of society are turned towards us, we make a sign of non-resistance but in our hearts it is canker all the time. We feel the utter want of the calm of non-resistance; we feel that it would be better for us to resist." "Plunge into the world," he adds "and after a time when you have suffered and enjoyed all that is in it, then will renunciation come, then will calm come." This was India's message although it is apt to be obscured by those who will misread it or misinterpret it.

In dealing with world situation, therefore, we cannot afford to forget that the first step should be to combat evil forces and resist them actively, openly, unflinchingly, fighting physically and morally for what is conceived to be the right decision. After the fight will come a time for peaceful contemplation of the scheme of the new world that can be built only after false ideals have been over-thrown and injurious systems of thought and practice disestablished. To many of us, therefore, the doctrine of non-violence, in the form in which it is often preached to-day, the doctrine of non-participation in the combat raging all around us and the doctrine of quiescent passive resistance such as is sometimes advocated, seem to be the negation of all that Hinduism and the highest ideals of humanity stand for.

Sir John Woodroffe, one of the most sympathetically intuitive students of Indian thought, has, in an essay on the

Tantrasastra pointed out what is too often ignored and what one should never be weary of repeating, namely, that it is wrong to talk as many of our unfriends and some even of our friends do, as though India produced nothing else but Sadhus, Yogis, Mahatmas and philosophers. The past life of India flowed along many channels. Not only has it meditated but it has also worked in every sphere of activity. To quote from Sir John Woodroffe's "Shakti and Shakta" there have been in India through the ages the splendid Courts of great Kingdoms and Empires, skilful administration (Rajadharma), practical autonomies of village and communal life (Prajadharma), prowess in war and in the chase, scientific work, a world commerce and prosperous agriculture, a monumental and sumptuous art (Where can we find stronger and more brilliant colour?) and a life of poetry, emotion and passion, both written and lived." Such a life lived in fulness of self-expression is every moment creative and from it can alone emerge the unity to be ultimately achieved by the individual self with the world soul. No amount of logic-chopping can deprive the following invocation contained in the Taittiriya Aranyaka of the Krishna Yajur Veda of its full-blooded and realistic significance. "May we see the Sun for a hundred autumns, may we delight and rejoice for a hundred autumns, may we hear and discourse wisdom and keep our places and be unvanquished for a hundred autumns." In the Tantrasastra, it is often repeated that without the knowledge of Shakti, liberation is not possible. But this principle of religion is true of the outer and phenomenal life also and is based on the realisation that man is a magazine of power. The service of the Devi in any of her aspects is as much worship according to the true Shakta as are the traditional forms of the ritual Upasana. India herself is also one of the forms of that Shakti. The service of India as a Mother Form has thus to be regarded as an aspect of religion which is called true patriotism and which, on a proper reading of Indian philosophy, is not in

conflict with what is higher than itself, namely, the true service of humanity and what is higher still, the realisation of the Supreme and overshadowing self. This is the lesson that is preached by the Karma and the Raja Yoga and this is the lesson reinforced by the Tantras. It may be that the world as we have known it is destined to undergo profound mutations and a succession of crises but amidst these ruins let India, at the time of rebuilding, make her own contribution and that contribution in the outer political and economic sphere is quite consistent with the supreme aspiration of Indian thought—the fulfilment of the truth “तत्त्वमसि”—“That Though art”—the identification of the Individual firstly with humanity, and ultimately with the Universe.

सहनाववतु सह नौ भुनक्तु
सह वीर्यं करवावहै

“Let us together achieve common protection, let us together enjoy the fruits of life and let us unitedly exhibit the quality of heroism.

तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु
मा विद्विषावहै

Let us study with enlightenment and let us forbear from mutual hatreds.” In this inspired utterance from the Upanishads what a perfect summary we obtain of the true philosophy designed by our spiritual progenitors of human life as it may and should be lived.



APPENDIX.

ALLIANCES, TREATIES AND PACTS

THE ANTI-COMINTERN PACT. The signatories are Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, Hungary and Manchukuo.

(The Anti-Comintern Pact, though nominally an ideological agreement against Communism, is so worded that it gives the signatories the right to interfere with armed forces in any country where they may claim that Communism has an influence. It can, therefore, serve as an excuse for attack on any country).

GERMANY has a Military Alliance with Italy, the Treaty of Rapallo (1922), a Friendship Pact with Russia, and an agreement for military Assistance with Spain.

ITALY has a Military Alliance with Germany and an Agreement for Military Assistance with Spain. Anglo-Mediterranean Agreement (1938).

JAPAN has a Military Alliance with Manchukuo.

SPAIN has Military Agreements with Germany and Italy and a Non-Aggression and Friendship Pact (1939) with Portugal

HUNGARY has Non-Aggression Pacts with members of the Little Entente (which did not prevent her from benefiting when Czechoslovakia was taken by Germany, by seizing Ruthenia).

MANCHUKUO. A puppet state of Japan.

ENGLAND has Treaties of Alliance with France, Portugal, Egypt and Iraq. She guarantees independence and vital interests of Poland and Roumania by bilateral treaties. She guarantees the independence of Turkey and Greece. Italian Mediterranean Agreement (1938).

FRANCE has bilateral Treaties of Mutual Defence with England, Poland, Roumania, Jugoslavia and shares with England the guarantees for Greece and Turkey.

RUSSIA has a Treaty of Mutual Defence with France, Non-Aggression Pacts with Germany, Poland, the Baltic States, Finland, Norway and a Treaty of Mutual Friendship with Turkey now being enlarged to a Military Defensive Pact.

POLAND has Treaties of Mutual Defence with France, England, Roumania, a Treaty of Non-Aggression with Russia, and by the Protocol of 1921, the Pact of Conciliation and Arbitration of 1925, and subsequent diplomatic arrangements, is interested in the protection of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania against aggression.

PORTUGAL has a 400 year old Treaty of Alliance with England. She has just signed a Friendship and Non-Aggression Pact with Spain.

ROUMANIA has Treaties of Mutual Defence with France, England and Poland. As a member of the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente she has Treaties with Greece, Turkey Jugoslavia. She has a Non-Aggression Pact with Bulgaria. (The Balkan Pact was established in 1934 to guarantee the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Balkans. With the extinguishing of Czechoslovakia as an independent state the Little Entente is dead.)

TURKEY has Conventions with Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Russia. Turkey is a member of the Balkan Pact and is signing a Treaty of Mutual Assistance with England and France and a Military Pact with Russia.

GREECE is a member of the Balkan Pact and is guaranteed by England and France.

BULGARIA has a Treaty of Friendship with Turkey and has signed Non-Aggression Pacts with the other members of the Balkan Pact, but has not become a member of it.

JUGOSLAVIA is a member of the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact. She has a Treaty of Friendship with Italy and a Treaty of Mutual Defence with France.

THE BALTIC STATES, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, are united by the Treaty of Good Understanding and Co-operation (1934). Latvia and Estonia are united by the Defensive Alliance of 1934. Lithuania since the settlement of the

Vilna and Memel questions is more closely tied to Poland, which considers that the independence of the Baltic states is one of vital interest to herself. Russia has signed Non-Aggression Pacts with all the Baltic States. Latvia last week signed a Treaty of Non-Aggression with Germany and Estonia is expected to follow suit.

SCANDINAVIAN ENTENTE is composed of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. Norway and Finland have Non-Aggression Pacts with Russia. Denmark and Sweden have a military understanding together for holding the Skagerrack.

HOLLAND has no Alliance with any country. She only desires to protect her independence and colonies.

BELGIUM has her neutrality guaranteed by Germany, France and England.

SWITZERLAND has her neutrality guaranteed by Germany, France and Italy.

Appendices.

APPENDIX I.

At the meeting held on the 6th September 1939 at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur Rajya Sevadhurandhara V. S. Subrahmania Aiyar, retired Dewan of Travancore, it was resolved to hold a Garden Party and to present an address of felicitation to Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar on his completing his 60th year. In moving the resolution Rao Bahadur Rajyasevanirata Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, retired Chief Secretary to Government, spoke as follows :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman,

Sashtiabddapurthi, as the Chairman has rightly observed, is an event of great significance in one's life. According to Hindu traditions the completion of 60th year marks the half way in the span of one's worldly existence. But it is seldom given to an ordinary human being in *Kaliyuga* to live through the full period of 120 years. Generally speaking, the 60th year is the close of the active period of one's life and the beginning of a gentle decline which increases with advancing age. There are, of course, exceptions to this general rule. Present cases, Mr. Chairman, are always excepted. I see a number of noble exceptions around me and Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is undoubtedly another notable exception. No one will have the courage to say that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is entering on an age of decline. Though he will be sixty in another couple of months he is as vigorous and active physically and mentally as a young man of forty. It is really wonderful how he has been able to maintain this high level of mental vigour and bodily strength in spite of the hard intellectual work he has been doing for hours together, from day to day, for many years past.

Sir C. P. has been, you will admit, before the public eye for well over thirty-five years. He first came to Trivandrum as

A SASHTIABDAPURTHI SOUVENIR.

Maharaja in this great crisis. He is one eminently fitted to face a serious situation like the present and he has the will power to act with courage and determination in any crisis. Let us, one and all of us without distinction of caste or creed, extend our whole-hearted co-operation and support to our Dewan in his difficult task; let us show our goodwill towards him and our appreciation of his services by celebrating his approaching *Sashtiabdapurthi* in a manner befitting the occasion and worthy of our tradition; and let us pray to the Almighty in one united voice to bless him with long life and ever increasing happiness and prosperity.

APPENDIX II.

The following are selected and published out of the numerous Addresses presented to the Dewan as they are typical of the important communities and interests in the State:—

Sir,

On behalf of the S. N. D. P. Yogam, which represents the Ezhava community of Kerala, we, the President and the General Secretary of the Yogam, feel happy to tender you, on this auspicious occasion of your *Sashthiabdapurthi*, our warm and heart-felt felicitations.

From the unique position you had reached in the legal profession by your innate talents, deep erudition, and brilliant attainments, and from the highest appointments then open to Indians which you had held with credit in British India, the people of Travancore including ourselves naturally felt that your connection with the State would be productive of lasting good to the country when you accepted, eight years ago, the Office of Legal and Constitutional Advisor to His Highness the Maharaja, and later on, that of His Highness' trusted Minister.

We congratulate ourselves that it was given to us, Travancoreans, to enjoy the benefit of your varied experience and far-sighted statesmanship.

Great credit is due to you, Sir, for giving due recognition to the fact that the future prosperity of this densely peopled State, with its abundant natural resources and great potentialities, depends mainly on its thoroughgoing industrialisation. To encompass this object, it is well known that you have inaugurated and developed several schemes of far-reaching importance. We are confident that your laudable attempts in this direction, here, will be crowned with the same success your similar projects have been elsewhere, and that they will result in improving the material condition

of the people by providing employment to the unemployed and increasing the wage-earning capacity and raising the standard of living, especially of the labouring classes who form the bulk of the population in this country.

We and our future generations will always remember with gratitude the great and noble part you have taken in strengthening the hands of His Gracious Highness the Maharaja, in the promulgation of the epoch-making Temple Entry Proclamation which has, by one stroke of the pen, removed the disabilities imposed by age-long custom on the majority of the Hindu population of the State including our community. Above all, we realise that this great measure has made Travancore an inspiring example for other parts of India to emulate and has raised its status in the eyes of the civilised world.

May you live long, in health and strength, and continue to guide the destinies of this land by introducing many more measures calculated to advance the progress, contentment and happiness of its people, is the devout prayer of the Ezhava community represented by the S. N. D. P. Yogam.

The Municipal Council, Kuzhithurai.

Sir,

On behalf of the citizens of Kuzhithurai we, the President and Members of the Municipal Council, Kuzhithurai, beg to offer our greetings to you on this happy occasion of your *Sashtiabda-purthi*.

You are now completing sixty years of a life crowded with endeavours and achievements, some of which we deem it our duty to recall to our minds on this occasion. A rare combination of learning, imagination, and administrative capacity has enabled you to serve the country in diverse capacities. Long before you came to Travancore you had established reputation as a gifted lawyer, an unselfish public worker, Secretary to the Indian National Congress, member of the Provincial and Imperial Executive Councils, and Ambassador of India at the League of

APPENDIX II.

Nations and the World Economic Conference. Your keen intellect and brilliant powers had earned high encomiums from such discerning critics as the late Sir Edwin Montagu. Your far-seeing statesmanship had initiated bold and fruitful enterprises like the Pykara and Mettur projects. It was the good fortune of our State that it was able to secure the services of such a distinguished statesman and administrator, first as Constitutional Adviser, to His Highness the Maharaja and later as Dewan.

This is hardly the occasion for dwelling at length on your record of services to this State. We would, however, permit ourselves to make a passing reference to the part you have played in the reform of the Legislature, the reliefs given to the ryots, the granting of equal opportunities in the public services, both civil and military, to all subjects of His Gracious Highness the Maharaja, Pallivasal Hydro-Electric Scheme, the Travancore University, the State Transport System, Legislation for raising the Trivandrum Municipal Council to the status of a Corporation and above all, the historic Temple Entry Proclamation which has justly made our Sovereign the idol of the whole country and carried his name to the farthest confines of the earth.

You combine in yourself the finest elements in the cultures of the East and the West. You have conjured up noble visions for our country and worked for their realisation. What nobler future could one wish for her than the one you have described in the following words:— “The India of the future will be productive; it will create Art and Thought; and poets, painters and dreamers will count far more than at present. The India of the future shall not keep up the present endless divisions and sub-divisions, but will fuse into one organic unity. Let us be one caste for that purpose”.

That God may bless you with long life and prosperity and that it may be given to you in an ever-increasing measure to work for the realisation of such a future, is our heart-felt prayer.

The Alleppey Chamber of Commerce.

Esteemed Sir,

We, the President and Members of the Alleppey Chamber of Commerce, Alleppey, beg to offer you our heartiest

congratulations on this auspicious occasion of your *Sashtiabda-purthi* and wish you long life and happiness,

As a body representing the commercial interests of the State we have been watching with great interest and admiration the several industrial and other schemes of development sponsored by the Government in recent years under your able guidance and we are happy to see to-day the fruition of many of your noble endeavours for speeding up the economic progress of the country.

We are especially thankful to you for the steps which the Government are taking under your able inspiration and guidance, for directly helping the development of our foreign trade and obtaining for Travancore special shipping facilities.

The part played by you in connection with the historic Temple Entry Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja will ever be gratefully remembered not only by the people of this State but also by millions of India as a great contribution towards the liberation of the down-trodden and the attainment of unity of our motherland.

The establishment of a University for Travancore is viewed by all lovers of the country as another great contribution towards the educational and industrial progress of the State; and we have no doubt that this achievement will be an important landmark in the history of Travancore.

We are deeply conscious of your unceasing efforts to promote the social and economic well-being of the people which has always been the greatest care of His Most Gracious Highness the Maharaja. We beg to assure you of our loyal co-operation and support in all your endeavours for advancing the industrial and economic prosperity of Travancore.

In conclusion, we once again offer our sincere greetings to you on this happy occasion and pray Almighty to grant you long life, health and happiness.

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